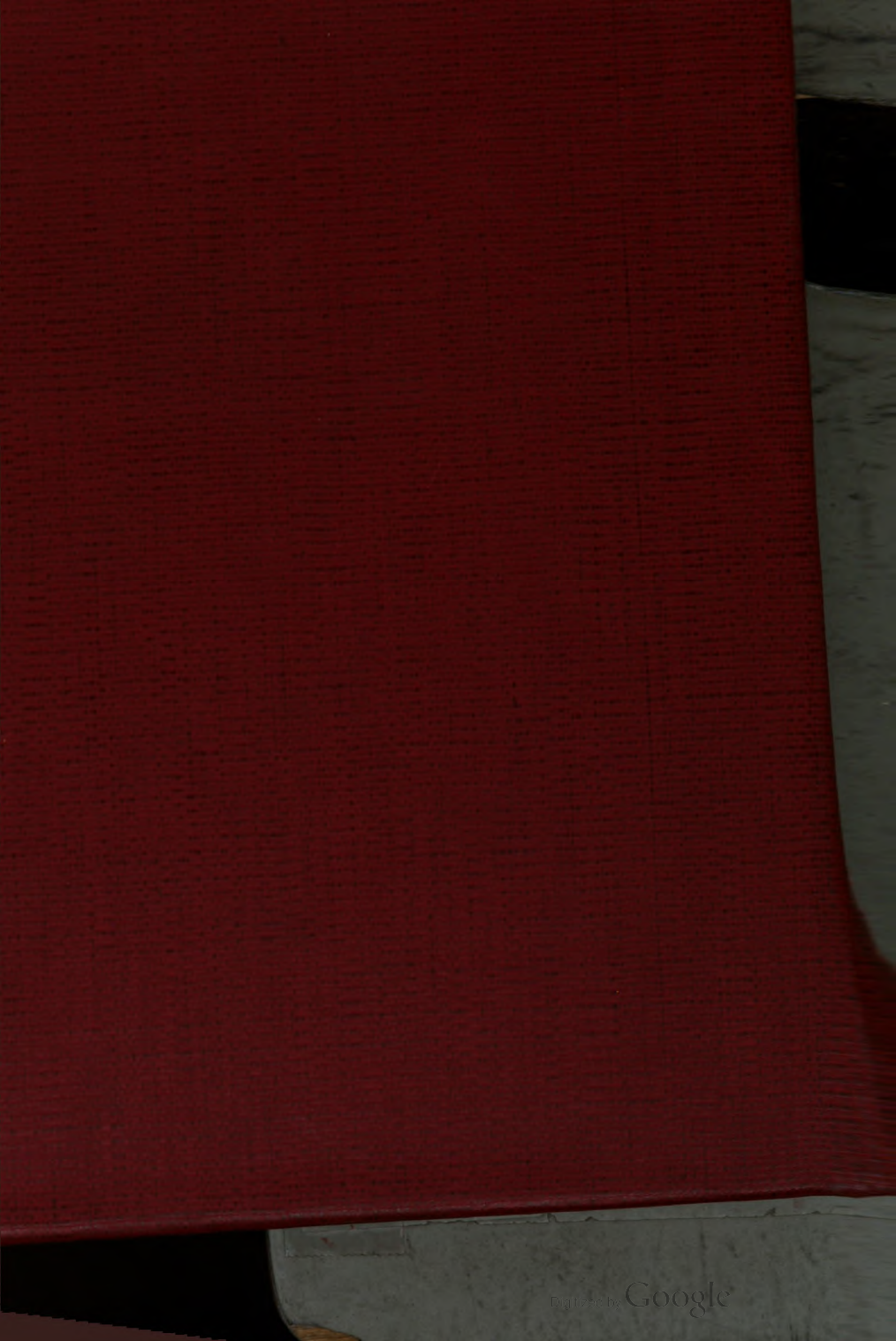

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A

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF

SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGES, (*Southern*)

BY

W. H. I. BLEEK, PH.D.

PART I.

PHONOLOGY

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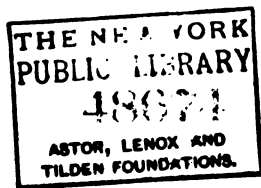
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1882.

S.S.O.

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PREFACE.

THE history of South Africa, as far as it can be learnt from written records, does not extend beyond a few centuries back, and refers only to some small portions of the coast line of this continent. But there is another kind of historical research accessible to us, which embraces thousands of years of the bygone times of our race. From the facts brought to light by Comparative Philology and Ethnology, a knowledge can be gained—superior in its certainty to that of the historical record—of the descent and mixture of the different nations inhabiting South Africa, their consanguinity with and influence upon each other, their gradual breaking up into several tribes, or the confluence of different tribes into one powerful nation. We shall be able to learn by these means, whence and by what races South Africa was originally peopled, how they came into contact with each other, whether they peacefully commingled, or whether the stronger drove the weaker race victoriously before them. We may with some degree of certainty even ascertain at what periods and from what causes the different nations of each race were separated, and when and how their tribal subdivision took place,—each individual branch of a race fashioning in its own way what it had inherited from the common stock, with regard to language, habits and customs, religious ideas, and political institutions. Small in comparison with this grand history of South Africa, accessible to us by means of Comparative Philology and Ethnology, are the facts revealed by the traditions of the different tribes and nations, though they go in one instance at least (that of the Frontier Kafirs),* as far as eighteen generations back, and are all well worth recording.

There are some main facts established through the last twelve years' researches which stand in bold relief to the groping uncertainty till then existing with regard to African Ethnology.

* *Vide* Dr. Nicholson's notes at pp. 166-168 of Col. Maclean's "Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs," No. 164a of Sir G. Grey's Library, Vol. I.

One is the North African origin of the Hottentots,* the other the extension of that class of languages and nations to which the Kafir belongs over all parts of South Africa known to us (with the exception of those inhabited by the Hottentot and Bushman tribes), and over the greater part of Western Africa as far as 13° northern latitude, extending in that region from the banks of the Senegal to those of the upper Nile.† This knowledge that the great mass of African languages is reducible to two families is mainly due to comparative researches which had taken as their basis the Hottentot and Kafir languages, as exhibiting in general the most primitive state of the two races, in speech, customs, &c.

Thus the two principal native races inhabiting the borders of this colony may be said to furnish us with a firm basis for the general history of the African races, as far as this can be gained by means of ethnological and philological comparisons. If, therefore, besides the practical advantage and political expediency of facilitating our intercourse with the different native races, a particular interest is attached to such philological and ethnological studies at the Cape, as forming our only extensive legitimate field of colonial historical researches,—the importance of the South African languages (and particularly of the Kafir and Hottentot) for Comparative Philology, or the so-called “Science of Language,” cannot well be overvalued. Nay, it is perhaps not too much to say that similar results may at present be expected from a deeper study of such primitive forms of language as the Kafir and Hottentot exhibit, as followed at the beginning of this century

* The fact that the Hottentot language is nearer akin to North African languages than to those of the black nations of South Africa was ascertained independently and almost at the same time by different scholars,—for example by the Rev. Dr. J. C. Adamson (*Journal of the American Oriental Society* Vol. iv, No. 2, 1854, p. 448), by Mr. Logan (in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, if I recollect rightly, about 1853), and by myself (*De Nominum Generibus Linguarum Africæ Australis*, &c., 1851, pp. 45-60).

† The late lamented first Bishop of Sierra Leone, O. E. Vidal, was the first who publicly stated that some of the languages of Sierra Leone (the Timmen and Bullom) belong to the Bâ-ntu family of languages (*Introductory Remarks to Crowther's Yoruba Dictionary*, 1853, p. 7). The same fact had independently about that time become clear also to other observers,—for example, to Mr. Norris (*Prichard's Natural History of Man*, 4th edition, edited by E. Norris, 1855, vol. ii, p. 421).

the discovery of Sanscrit and the comparative researches of Oriental scholars. The origin of the grammatical forms of gender and number, the etymology of pronouns, and many other questions of the highest interest to the philologist find their true solution in Southern Africa.

The forms of a language may be said to constitute in some degree the skeleton frame of the human mind whose thoughts they express. Sounds, too may be considered as forming the elements of language; and, the portion of my work relating to these has, therefore, some analogy to organic chemistry in its application to animal structures. Such phonological researches are of course necessary for any sound investigation into the nature of a language; but they have not that interest and practical importance which the exposition of the structure of the languages will present. The organic features of the languages, as they will be laid down in the following parts of this book, are in one respect especially attractive, since they afford the clue to the original mental tendencies of the two races, of which the Kafir and Hottentot are the most primitive representatives. For any one who has studied the subject, the dependence to a great extent of a nation's mode of thought on the forms of their language is a well-known fact. How dependent, for example, the highest products of the human mind, the religious ideas and conceptions of even highly civilized nations, may be upon their manner of speaking has been ingeniously shown by Max Müller, in his essay on Comparative Mythology (Oxford Essays, 1856). This will become still more evident from our African researches. The primary cause of the ancestor worship of the one race (Kafirs, Negroes, and Polynesians) and of the sidereal worship (or of those forms of religion which have sprung from the veneration of heavenly bodies) of the other (Hottentots, North African, Semitic and Aryan nations) is supplied by the very forms of their language.

The nations speaking Sex-denoting languages are distinguished by a higher poetical conception, by which human agency is transferred to other beings, and even to inanimate things, in consequence of which their personification takes place, forming the origin of almost all mythological legends. This faculty is not developed in the Kafir mind, because not suggested by the forms of their language, in which the nouns

of persons are not (as in the Sex-denoting languages) thrown together with those of inanimate beings into the same classes or genders, but are in separate classes, without any grammatical distinction of sex. This can, of course, not be fully understood without entering into all the details of the grammatical classification of nouns and pronouns, and I must, therefore, refer for further explanation to the second part of this book, which will treat of the nouns, pronouns, adjectives, &c.

It seems here, however, important to point out the fact that not only the grammatical structure of the language in this regard was fixed, before the Hottentots separated from their North African cousins. The very tendency of the mind produced by the peculiar structure of the language, must to a certain extent have been settled before the period of separation. The lunar worship, which, according to Kolb, formed originally the main feature of the devotional practices of the Hottentots, renders it probable that their religious ideas already had a direct tendency in favour of sidereal worship before they were cut off from the more northern Sex-denoting nations.

The character of the Hottentot literature, as far as we are as yet acquainted with it, shows a singular agreement with the most primitive phases of our own literature. The personification of irrational beings, which is caused in the first instance by the structural peculiarities of the Sex-denoting languages, leads to that class of fictitious tales known as fables which form such a charming portion of our early literature. The Hottentot imagination seems to have been employed in the same direction; and many of the fables which have been collected from the mouth of the natives bear a great resemblance to parts of the poem of Reynard the Fox and other world-renowned fables. It is possible that one or more of these fables may have been derived from European sources, but the majority is certainly original; and the very facility with which those others have been adopted by the natives is a great proof of that congeniality of disposition in the Hottentot mind which we ascribe to common ancestry.

It is true, also, that in the legends of the black nations of South Africa animals are sometimes made to act and speak like men; but then, in general, this is less a real personification than a mere consequence of their religious belief in metempsychosis or migration of the soul, and intimately connected with their ancestor worship. The literature of the negro tribes has mainly

an epical, historical or half historical character, relating the adventures of real men, varied sometimes by spectral phantoms or metamorphoses of men into lions or other animals. Witchcraft is, of course, here one of the principal moving agents.

I do not lay much stress here upon the fact that the law of composition in Hottentot poetry seems to be the same as that met with in the productions of the Semitic poets. The parallelism which in the Psalms and other poetical portions of the Old Testament takes the place of the rhyme, metre and alliteration of the Aryan languages, seems also to constitute the essential quality of Hottentot poetry. As a specimen I give the following song, furnished by Mr. Krönlein :*

THE ZEBRA.

Thou who art thrown at by the great (shepherd) boys,
Thou whose head the (kirrie's) throw misses !
Thou dappled fly,
Thou party-coloured one.
Thou who spiest for those
Who spy for thee.
Thou woman's thigh,
Thou thigh of jealousy !

Regarding the stage of civilization in which the Sex-denoting nations, (if this title is admissible) stood at the time of separation, it is probable (though by no means certain) that the use of domestic cattle had already been introduced. At all events it is singular that amongst the Hottentots as well as amongst the more Northern nations, the milking of the cows is woman's business, whilst amongst Kafirs and kindred tribes a woman generally is not allowed to touch the cattle, or enter the cattle fold.—(*Cape Monthly Magazine*, Vol. i, April, 1857. p. 207.)

It was my intention to say a few words regarding the nomenclature employed, and the principle of classification on which it is based. But as I foresee that this would lead me too far, I must defer it to an other opportunity, trusting that the terms which I have used are sufficiently clear in themselves to be understood without any particular explanation.

Extended introductory remarks were not required, as all the necessary information regarding the different languages,

* The Rev. G. Krönlein has already enriched Sir George Grey's Library with thirteen fables, thirty-two proverbs, five riddles, and five songs, all in Nama Hottentot, with German translation and notes. (§ 16.—*Cape Monthly Magazine*, Vol. xi. No. 65, May, 1862, p. 316.)

and a detailed description of their respective literatures, has been given in the first volume of the catalogue of "Sir George Grey's Library." The literary treasures of this collection were, however, out of my reach, when I wrote this first part of my work. Amongst them there is perhaps not one work which I missed more than Livingstone's *Analysis*. (Vide § 30.)

I am aware that on this and many other accounts, the present work cannot but be in some degree deficient; but I thought it better, while I had the time and strength, to give those results of my labours which I considered would be useful to the student of these languages.

With regard to the selection of my sources of information, I am conscious that in general I have been sufficiently particular. Only in the case of the dialects of the Mosambique genus, I felt myself constrained to rely upon data furnished by a mere traveller; and here, therefore, my statements may be most liable to error. But this will not, I trust, be found materially to affect the rules laid down.

The reader will see that I have endeavoured to follow Lepsius's Standard Alphabet in general as much as possible. In some cases, however, the typographical difficulties were too great; and on this account, for example, *sʰ* and *tsʰ* had to represent his *sʰ* and *tsʰ*. In writing the aspirated linguals, I have ventured to add the *χ* (which sound is really heard in these letters) to the signs chosen by him.

For a comparative work of this nature, the adoption of a uniform system of transcription was almost a necessity. With reference to publications in the different native languages I may be allowed to say that a general agreement in their orthographies would indeed be very desirable; but I am afraid that under present circumstances an immediate change for this purpose would be connected with great practical inconveniences. Gradual alterations, however, with a view to ultimate uniformity, can easily be introduced with advantage.

Finally, I have thankfully to acknowledge the aid which has been afforded in the publication of this work by numerous subscriptions, among which I may especially mention those of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, and Imperial Governments.

W. H. I. BLEEK.

Capetown, 18th June, 1862.

A COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGES.

INTRODUCTION.

I. CLASSIFICATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGES.

1. It is the object of this work to give a comparative view of the structure of the languages spoken in *Africa to the South of the Equator*, as far as we are yet acquainted with them. These languages are, according to their structure and origin, divided into three classes. As representatives of these three classes we may name the languages of the Kafir, the Hottentot, and the Bushman.

2. The *Bushman* tongue is as yet too insufficiently known to allow us to assign to it its proper place in a general classification of languages; but it seems to be clear that its relationship to the Hottentot language is, at least, very remote. In fact, the probability is that it will be found to belong to what may be called the class of Genderless Languages. Members of this class seem to exist in almost all other parts of the world, and they interrupt particularly the contiguity of Sex-denoting languages, in Northern Africa (Bornu, Mandenga, &c.), Europe (Basque, Hungarian, Finnic, &c.), Asia (Tartaric, Mongolian, Dravidian, &c.) They occupy also some portions of America, and the whole Australian continent.

3. The *Hottentot* language is known to us in three or four different dialects, one of which (the Nama language) is represented by a large amount of missionary

literature. Its nearest relations are met with in Northern Africa, whilst its relationship to other South African Languages is, perhaps still more distant than to the Bushman Language.

4. The *Kafir* Language belongs to an extensive family of languages which occupy (as far as our knowledge goes) the whole remaining portion of the South African continent, extending on the Eastern side from the Keiskamma to the equator, and on the Western side from 32° southern to about 8° northern Latitude.

5. Members of this family of languages, which we call the *Bâ-ntu family* (§ 12 and 140), are also spread over portions of Western Africa, as far west as Sierra Leone, where the Bullom and Timneh languages are cousins of the Kafir. They are here interspersed particularly by members of the *Gör* family of languages (Fulah, Wolof, Ga, &c.), which belongs to the same class of languages as the *Bâ-ntu* family, and forms together with it the African section of this class; whilst the Malay, Polynesian, and Papuan families are to be considered as members of the Oceanic section of the same class.

6. The chief characteristic of this class of inter-tropical languages is that the *pronouns* are originally borrowed from the *derivative prefixes of the nouns*, whilst in that class of languages to which the Hottentot, Egyptian, Semitic, and Aryan or Indo-European families belong, the *pronouns* are originally borrowed from the *derivative suffixes of the nouns*.

7. The former class is, on this account, called that of *Prefix-pronominal Languages*, and the latter the class of *Suffix-pronominal Languages*; both classes together are included in the group of *Pronominal Languages*.

8. Their main distinctive feature is a concord of the *pronouns* and of every part of speech, in the formation of which pronouns are employed (*e. g.* adjectives and verbs) *with the nouns* to which they respectively refer, and the

hereby caused *distribution of the nouns into classes or genders.*

9. This concord is evidently produced through the original identity of each pronoun with the respective derivative particle (prefix, or suffix) of the nouns which may be represented by it.

10. The different classes or gender of the nouns are, in the only family of Suffix-pronominal languages which has as yet been clearly made out, brought into some reference to the distinction of sex as seen in nature. They are, therefore, termed *Sex-denoting Languages.*

11. Among the classes or genders of the nouns in the Prefix-pronominal languages, only two have a decided reference to the distinctions observed in nature, being restricted to nouns denoting reasonable beings, the one in the singular the other in the plural.

12. That the derivative prefix and pronouns of this last gender (of personal nouns in the plural) are either actually *ba-*, or contracted, or in some other manner changed from it, is one of the characteristics of the *Bâ-ntu* family of languages, which have on this account been called *Ba-Languages* by Dr. H. Barth.

13. If we leave, therefore, the Bushman language, as too little known,* out of sight, we have here to do, on the one hand with a *South African species of the Sex-denoting languages*, and on the other with the *South African division of the Bâ-ntu family of languages.*

14. The former is represented merely by a few dialectical varieties of one and the same language (the Hottentot), whilst the latter is divided into three great branches, each branch comprising several languages which are as distinct from each other as, perhaps, English is from German, or French from Italian and Portuguese.

* A manuscript grammar of the Bushman language by the Rev. C. F. Wura is in Sir G. Grey's Library.

II. SHORT VIEW OF THE DIALECTS DESCRIBED.

15. The most important *Hottentot dialect* is that of the *Nama-qua* (misc. plur. obj.) or *Nama-na* (comm. plur. obj.), which is still spoken by about 20,000 souls, and is the fullest in forms and the most original in structure. It is described in two grammars (Wallmann's in German, Tindall's in English, the latter being the best), and a large amount of missionary literature has been published in it. A few pieces of native literature are in manuscript in Sir G. Grey's Library; and also two grammatical documents, one by Mr. Josias C. Rivers, the other by the Rev. H. C. Knudsen.

16. The *!Kora Hottentot dialect*, which resembles most nearly the Nama dialect, is now nearly extinct. An extract of a grammar of this dialect by Mr. Wuras is published in Appleyard's *Kafir grammar*. A manuscript dictionary by the same author is in Sir G. Grey's Library, together with a manuscript revision of a catechism in this dialect, the published copies of which are defective.

17. The *Cape Hottentot dialect* has disappeared many years ago. Specimens of it are preserved in translations made previous to 1679, and published in Leibnitz's *Collectanea Etymologica*, and in Witsen's vocabularies (of 1691), published in Junckeri Vita Ludolfi. Both these texts and vocabularies were reprinted in the January and February numbers of the "Cape Monthly Magazine" of 1858.

18. In the *Eastern Hottentot dialects* only scanty vocabularies are now in existence; for Dr. van der Kemp's catechism (published in 1805 or 1806) which represented one of these dialects, has totally disappeared.

19. The *South African division of the Bâ-ntu family of languages* consists of one large middle body, occupying

almost the whole known territory between the tropic of Capricorn and the equator, and of two detached branches, one to the south-south-east and the other to the north-north-west.

20. In the *Middle Branch* the Eastern and Western languages offer distinct characteristics: and this branch is accordingly divided into two portions, each of which contains again at least two genera.

21. The Middle branch languages are, as a whole, distinguished by a greater softness of pronunciation, and by a tendency to mollification, which shows itself most strongly in the Western portion, and particularly in the South-western or Bunda genus. The members of the latter particularly offer, in comparison with those of the South-eastern branch, a strikingly opposite phonetical development.

Their main difference seems to be that in the languages of the South-eastern branch, the terminations of the words affect, almost exclusively, the preceding syllables, whilst in those of the Western portion of the Middle branch, the terminations are also varied in accordance with the preceding syllables. The prior tendency has particularly led to the palatalisation of consonants, and the latter to vowel-harmonic changes, and to an alliteration of consonants.

22. The *South-eastern Branch* consists of three distinct species, *Kafir*, *Se-tshuāna*, and *Tekeza*.

23. Of these three languages the *Kafir*, with its variety the *Zulu*, presents in general the fullest forms, and the most original features with regard to its structure, and the greatest melodiousness in its sounds.

24. The *Tekeza* is broader, and *Se-tshuāna* more guttural and less nasal, with darker vowels and less primitive consonants.

25. The *Kafir proper* differs from the *Zulu* less in the form of the words than in their idiomatic use.

26. Besides a great amount of missionary literature, there are three grammars of the *Kafir language* published by competent authors, Messrs. Boyce, Davis (who describes particularly the Ma-mpondo dialect), and Appleyard, and a neat little English-Kafir vocabulary by Ayliff. A Kafir-English dictionary is much wanted. A few pieces of native literature are in manuscript in Sir G. Grey's Library.

27. In *Zulu* a great portion of the native literature has been brought to light, particularly by the labours of J. W. Colenso, Bishop of Natal. Other pieces collected by the Rev. Dr. H. Callaway are in manuscript in Sir G. Grey's Library. Very useful grammars were also published by the Bishop of Natal, and by an American missionary, the Rev. L. Grout. Small Zulu-English and English-Zulu vocabularies by Mr. J. Perrin were published by the Bishop of Natal; and a large Zulu-English dictionary by Rev. J. L. Dönné was printed at Cape Town under the patronage of Sir G. Grey.*

28. The amount of dialectical variety is much greater in *Se-tshuâna* than in the Kafir species.

29. The *Eastern Se-tshuâna dialects* approach nearer to the Kafir and Zulu than those of the west.

30. Numerous missionary publications have been issued in one eastern *Se-tshuâna* dialect (the *Se-suto*), and in two western dialects, the *Se-rolon* and *Se-ɬlapi*. Into the latter the whole Bible has already been translated. The remarks in Casalis' *Etudes* give only scanty fragments of a *Se-suto* grammar, and Livingstone's *Analysis* (printed only in twenty-five copies) is of course not accessible to the general public. A manuscript dictionary by the same author, revised by Mr. Moffat, and a manuscript grammar by Mr. I. Hughes are in Sir G. Grey's Library.

31. The difference between the *Se-ɬlapi* and *Se-rolon* dialects is apparently not even so great as that between Kafir and Zulu.

* Its usefulness might be increased by the addition of an English-Zulu vocabulary.—A complete Zulu-English dictionary by the Bishop of Natal has just been published.

32. *Teheza dialects* are known to us only through short vocabularies, the largest of which (referring to the dialect of *Lourenzo Marques* at the Delagoa Bay) is published in my edition of Dr. Peters' Mosambique vocabularies.

33. The *Southern Genus of the Eastern portion of the Middle branch*, extending over the Mosambique Coast and the Zambezi River system, is represented mainly by vocabularies, of which those collected by Dr. Peters, referring mainly to dialects spoken on or near the coast, are published, whilst those from the farther interior, collected by Dr. Livingstone, are still in manuscript in Sir G. Grey's Library, together with a few manuscript texts in the dialects of *Tette* and *Sena*, with grammatical tables of the latter dialect, and with specimens of conjugations in several Mosambique languages.

34. With regard to their phonetical characteristics, most of these Mosambique languages show only slight modifications (consisting mainly in contractions, abbreviations, mutation of more difficult consonants, &c.) in comparison with the structure of the Kafir language. Striking transitions of sound occur, however, in the *Makua* language.

35. In three of the languages of the *Northern Genus* of this Eastern portion of the Middle branch, extending along the Zanzibar Coast, books have been published, viz., in *Ki-suaheli*, *Ki-nika*, and *Ki-kamba*. The two former dialects have been described grammatically by Dr. L. Krapf, who has also published extensive vocabularies of these three dialects and of the *Ki-pokomo*.*

36. Also the *Hinzuan* spoken on Joana (one of the Comoro Islands) and described in Mr. Elliott's manuscript

* The *Ki-kia* belongs more properly to the South-eastern or Mosambique genus. It is nearest akin to the Marawi, &c.

grammars and vocabulary, which are in Sir G. Grey's Library, belongs to this North-eastern or Zangian genus; and likewise the jargon spoken by the *Sidi* in Sindh, of which a short vocabulary is published by R. F. Burton.

37. The languages of the *Southern Genus of the Western portion of the Middle branch* are distinguished from the North-western or Zangian genus by a still farther extension and more striking application of vowel-harmonic influences affecting the terminating syllables.

38. Publications have been issued by missionaries in two languages of the South-western or Bunda genus, the *oTyi-hereró*, spoken by the *oVa-hereró*, and the *Bunda* proper, or language of *Angola*.

39. The former, though now almost extinct, has only of late been made known through the labours of two Rhenish missionaries, one of whom (C. H. Hahn) has also published a grammar and dictionary of the language. Sir G. Grey's Library contains also valuable pieces of native literature in *oTyi-hereró*, collected by the Rev. J. Rath.

40. The *Angola* (or *Bunda*) catechism, four editions of which have been published, represents the language as it was spoken two centuries ago. It was written by a Jesuit, F. Pacconio. Another Jesuit, P. Dias, has compiled a Bunda grammar, mostly with reference to this catechism. It is not known, whether more than one printed copy of this grammar is still in existence. A manuscript copy is in Sir G. Grey's Library.

41. Of the language of *Benguela*, which is quite distinct from that of *Angola* as well as from the *Herero* species, a vocabulary with a few songs, has been collected from the mouth of a liberated slave.

42. A *Londa* vocabulary compiled by Dr. Livingstone is in manuscript in Sir G. Grey's Library.

43. Among the languages of the *Northern Genus* of this Western portion of the Middle branch, the *Kongo* is the most important, and it seems to be well described in Brusciotto à Vetralla's grammar, printed more than two hundred years ago. A Kongo catechism, published in two editions before that time, is mentioned by Canneattim.

44. A few grammatical remarks referring to the *Kalongo* language were published in Proyard's History of Loango, &c., nearly a hundred years ago.

45. The third known member of this North-western or Kongo genus, the *Mpongwe*, is accessible through a considerable amount of missionary literature, published by American missionaries, together with a grammar and vocabularies of the language, which in comparison with the more southern species of this genus, exhibits very broken and mutilated structural features.

46. The *North-western branch* extends along the coast from 1° to $4\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ northern latitude, but in the interior it reaches several degrees south of the line and to at least 8° northern latitude.

47. The *Di-kele* is the only inland language of this branch, which is, as yet, represented by missionary publications, and described in a grammar and vocabulary.

48. The *Benga*, *Dualla*, and *Isubu* are three coast languages of this branch, regarding which grammatical works have been published, and portions of vocabularies of the latter two dialects have also been printed. A large amount of missionary literature exists in *Dualla*, and also, though less, in *Isubu*, which seems to differ only dialectically from the *Dualla*. In *Benga* a primer and catechism are the only texts known to us.

49. A vast amount of inland territory between 10° northern and 10° southern latitude, being wholly unknown, it may be supposed that numerous members of

the South African division of the Bâ-ntu family of languages will eventually be discovered here ; and it is very possible that several new genera of this division, and perhaps even some new branches, of which, as yet, not a single dialect is recognized, are here still hidden from our view.

THE COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR.

A. PHONOLOGY.

I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

50. Regarding their primary elements the main difference between the *Hottentot* dialects and the languages of the *Bâ-ntu* family is that the structure of the former is *monosyllabic* and that of the *Bâ-ntu* languages *polysyllabic*.

51. This means to say merely that most words in the *Hottentot* language which are not monosyllabic are at once recognized as derivatives and composites; whilst in the *Bâ-ntu* languages such a reduction is, in general, even beyond the reach of deeper analytical researches.

52. This is in a great measure due to the fact that the syllables of a compounded or derived word in *Hottentot* do not cohere so closely together, nor do they influence and affect each other to such an extent as in the *Bâ-ntu* languages. In fact, the syllables of a *Hottentot* word stand more in juxtaposition, each having its own peculiar accent, than form a continuous whole, bound together by an overruling accent, as is the case in the *Bâ-ntu* words, in which almost every syllable of a word is more or less affected in sound by the syllables surrounding it, and has been brought into some accordance with it.

53. The tendency towards an easier pronunciation of the words which is visible herein is also shown by the abandonment in the *Bâ-ntu* languages of such syllabic elements as are more difficult of pronunciation.

II. CONSONANTS.

1. CLICKS.

54. In the *Hottentot* language, three fourths of the syllabic elements of the language begin with *clicks*.

55. Among the Bâ-ntu languages known to us, clicks appear only in languages adjoining the Hottentots, namely, in the varieties of the Kafirs species, and in the dialect of the Ba-yeye. It is probable that in both cases they are due to Hottentot influence, though none of the Se-tshuâna dialects (except the Se-suto, *vide* § 61) have been tinged with this phonetical feature, nor has the oTyi-hereró, another neighbour of the Hottentots. This may, perhaps, arise from the circumstance that these languages seem not to have encroached so much upon former Hottentot territory as the Kafir has, or they may only in later periods have come in contact with clicking tongues.

56. The two easiest Hottentot clicks, the dental and cerebral, have, without any remarkable modification, been adopted by the Kafirs.

57. The dental click ' (Λ of Le Vaillant, tⁿ of Lichtenstein, — of Schmelen, · of Knudsen, < of Schreuder, c in Kafir and Zulu books, q in Se-suto) is in Kafir, as in Hottentot, "sounded by pressing the tip of the tongue against the front teeth of the upper jaw, and then suddenly and forcibly withdrawing it." (Tindall.) It resembles our interjection of annoyance.

58. The cerebral click / (| of Schmelen, ' of Knudsen, > of Schreuder, q of Kafir and Zulu books, + of the Rhenish Missionaries,) is "sounded by curling up the tip of the tongue against the roof of the palate, and withdrawing it suddenly and forcibly." (Tindall.)

59. A third click, generally called lateral || (V of Le Vaillant, tⁿ of Lichtenstein, ' of Schmelen and Knudsen, > of Schreuder) is, according to Tindall, in Nama Hottentot generally articulated by covering with the tongue the whole of the palate, and producing the sound as far back as possible, either at what Lepsius calls the faucal or the guttural point of the palate. European

learners, however, imitate the sound by placing the tongue against the side teeth and then withdrawing it. This latter articulation, harsh and foreign as it is to the Hottentot ear, is, however, also that of the corresponding Kafir and Zulu click, which is in most books expressed by the letter *x*. A similar sound is often made use of in urging forward a horse.

60. The palatal click \neq (Δ of Le Vaillant, ϵ^3 of Lichtenstein, \circ of Schmelen, $:$ of Knudsen, $\acute{\iota}$ of Lepsius) is in Nama Hottentot sounded by pressing the tip of the tongue with as flat a surface as possible against the termination of the palate at the gums, and removing it in the same manner as during the articulation of the other clicks. This difficult click is rarely, if ever, employed in Kafir and Zulu words. (*Vide* Boyce-Davis, p. 4, where the *gc* is probably intended to indicate this sound.)

61. The occurrence of clicks in the Kafir dialects decreases, almost in proportion to their distance from the Hottentot border. Yet the most southern Tekeza dialects and the Se-suto have also (probably through Kafir influence) become to a slight extent, possessed of this remarkable phonetical element.

62. There is, further this distinction between the Hottentot and Kafir clicks, namely, that the latter are only found in the place of other consonants, and are used like consonants at the beginning of syllables, whilst in Hottentot a guttural explosive consonant (*k*, *kh*, or *g*), the faucal spirant *h* and the nasal *n*, can be immediately preceded by a click, and form together with it the initial element of the syllables.

63. The so-called harder or guttural modification of the Kafir clicks, which is generally indicated by a prefixed *g*, seems to be rather a guttural pronunciation of the click than a full guttural sound added to it.

64. In the *Bushman language*, even labial (and probably also dental) consonants are pronounced together with clicks, and *e. g.*, the Bushman word for "to sleep" seems

to be *phkĩnyé*, beginning with a combination of dental click, aspirated labial, and guttural tenuis, in which three letters are sounded together. (Compare also the Bushman words for "louse," "food," &c.)

65. According to Wuras, however, the Bushman language has, what he calls, a labial click & to articulate which the tongue moves very quickly, like that of the performer on a flute.

66. He distinguishes also, a dental click peculiar to the Bushman tongue, > which is produced by pressing the air through the upper and lower teeth, which stand slightly apart.

67. Clicks are, besides, as far as we know, only found in one other African language, the *Galla**, a member of the Semitic family of Sex-denoting languages, and, therefore, nearer akin to the Hottentot than to the Kafir. The Galla language agrees, however, in its whole phonetical system, as also in the mode of employing clicks, far more with the Kafir than with the Hottentot dialects.

68. Clicks occur, according to v. Klaproth, also in the *Circassian* tongue; and two clicks are distinguished in the *ixé* (ɟ, iche) language, spoken in Guatemala, of which an old Spanish grammar is in manuscript in Sir G. Grey's Library.

69. Here the click expressed by the letter ɟ is produced with the middle of the tongue, by withdrawing the breath within, and giving a little snap (*castanetilla*) in the beginning of the palate with the centre of the tongue, in such a manner that a sound is formed in the interior of the throat like as a guttural, if not something more in addition.

* I write this, subject to correction, for I have not one of Tutschek's publications with me, and see from Lepsius's Standard Alphabet that he has not noted any clicks in Galla. As I am, however, not the only one who believes that according to Tutschek's description, two of his letters indicate clicks, I think it right to draw attention to this point.

70. An other click is marked by ʄ, and pronounced with force by beating (slamming) the tip of the tongue, which is for that purpose drawn back sufficiently, against the upper teeth to their highest point. It is somewhat retarded or detained in its pronunciation.

71. One cannot say that these lixe clicks are exactly identical with any of the Hottentot clicks; but the second ʄ, resembles mostly, the Hottentot dental click ʄ, and the first ʄ the palatal ≠ combined with some guttural.

72. The drawing in of the breath appears to me to be a distinguishing feature in the pronunciation of lixe clicks, though by Lepsius it is also ascribed to African clicks.

73. Whether some other sounds in lixe are meant for clicks is doubtful; e. g. the tɛ which is to be pronounced with the tip of the tongue beginning to pronounce t, and ending in z, and by bringing quickly the tip of the tongue to the upper teeth. If this is a click, it is of course, one of the dental order.

2. ASPIRATED LINGUALS.

74. Next to the clicks, the sounds most difficult in pronunciation are the *aspirated linguals*. They are, however, found only in the languages of the South-Eastern Branch of the Bâ-ntu family.

75. In Kafir proper three letters of this class are distinguished, in Zulu and Se-suto two, in the Western Se-tshuâna one, and in the Tekeza of Lourenzo Marques, again, three, which seem, however, to differ somewhat from the Kafir aspirated linguals in pronunciation.

76. The first aspirated lingual χ_l (hl in Kafir books, \int of Schreuder, tl of the Se-tshuana, tlh of a Lourenzo Marques manuscript, l of Lepsius,) sounds in Kafir as if the sounds of the guttural fricative χ (like the German ch in "suchen") was pronounced in combination and at the same time with the lingual l .

77. The second aspirated lingual ξ_l (kl in Kafir, clh of the Lourenzo Marques manuscript) appears, in Kafir at least, to be merely a stronger, or sharper, pronunciation of the first, in the place of which it always stands after a nasal, nor is it found otherwise. In fact, Appleyard is probably right when he says that it ought to be written kh_l (or $k^s l$), the intermediate k between the π and χ_l facilitating in the same manner the pronunciation, as, *e.g.* the p does between m and t in the medieval Latin words "*assumpta*," "*redemptio*," or the t between n and s in Kafir words, as *intsapo*, children (plural of *usapo*, child). In Delagoa Bay this aspirated lingual occurs, indeed, without a preceding nasal; but we have already remarked that the pronunciation of the Tekeza aspirated linguals is different from that of the corresponding Kafir letters. The Se-tshuana tl is, in fact, rather this harder ξ_l than the first aspirated lingual.

78. The third aspirated lingual χ_l (ghl , jl , and dhl in Kafir books, \int of Schreuder, thl of the Sesuto, dlh or lh of the Lourenzo Marques manuscript, l of Lepsius,) sounds in Kafir as if the aspirated palatal fricative χ (like the ch in German *ich*) was pronounced simultaneously with the lingual l .

79. The aspirated linguals of the South-eastern Branch languages are, in other Bâ-ntu languages, changed into guttural, dental, or palatal consonants, and also into sibilants, pure, aspirated, or lisping.

80. Regarding the probable later origin of aspirated linguals by means of a gutturalisation of pure linguals, or in some other way, *vide* § 208.

3. EXPLOSIVE CONSONANTS.

a. FAUCAL EXPLOSIVES.

81. The /Kora dialect has, probably, the faucal explosive ʒ (the Semitic *y*, ʒain), if we are right in assigning this pronunciation to the sound indicated by Wuras (in Appleyard's grammar) by the letter *x*. In the corresponding Nama words this letter has generally been changed into the "spiritus lenis."

82. None of the South African Bâ-ntu dialects as yet known to us, seem to possess a faucal explosive, except, perhaps, the Kafir and Zulu, where we find "a peculiar hard, rough sound, which seems to be made by contracting the throat, and giving the breath a forcible expulsion, at the same time modifying the sound with a tremulous motion of the epiglottis," as Grout says, who marks it by *ǰ*, certainly, not in accordance with Lepsius' system, as he intended to do. The Bishop of Natal expresses it by *x*, and says that "it may be pronounced either as a guttural from the bottom of the throat, or as a click in a peculiar way."* We must acknowledge to be, as yet, at a loss regarding the sound of this letter which occurs only in very few words.

b. GUTTURAL EXPLOSIVES.

83. Among the explosives, those of the guttural class are the most common in the Hottentot language. They are three in number, *k*, *kʰ*† and *g*. Of these the *g* is least frequently used, though different observers vary considerably, some writing *g*, where others employ *k*.

84. Also in Kafir *g* is much less frequent than *k*, except after a nasal.

* He distinguishes it from the lateral click (§ 59) by using an *Italic x* for the faucal among Roman letters, or a Roman *x* among Italics.

† Krönelin assures me (in a letter) that this consonant (which he writes *k'*) is merely a sharply aspirated guttural, and not the consonantal diphthong *kx*.

85. The aspiration of the latter letter is so slight in Kafir and, perhaps, even more in Zulu, that it has very rarely been distinguished in writing. If we are not mistaken, it is, in fact, rather a stronger aspirated pronunciation of the *g*, which brings it near in sound to the *h*, than really an aspiration of the *h*.

86. In Zulu the *g* is more frequent, but in most cases it is not exactly a *g*, but a floating sound between *g* and *h*.

87. In Se-tshuâna the *g* does not exist at all. The *h* of this language corresponds to the Kafir *ng* (§ 219); and the *hh* of the Se-suto, *h_x* of the Western Se-tshuâna (§ 174), to the Kafir *nh*; whilst the Kafir *h* has in the Western Se-tshuâna been mollified into the fricative guttural *x*, and in the Eastern Se-suto dialect, into the faucal *h'* (both *x* and *h'* written *g* in Se-tshuâna books.) Kafir *g* has probably in Se-tshuâna been dissolved into the "spiritus lenis."

88. In the Northern Tekeza the existence of the not-nasalized *g* is very doubtful; *ng* is found here in place of the same Kafir letter; but Tekeza *h* corresponds, not only to the *h*, but also to the *sh* of the Kafir language. If an aspirated form of the *h* is distinguished in the pronunciation of the Tekeza, it has at least, not been indicated in writing.

89. The Kafir *nh* is entirely dropped in the Tekeza, and also in the dialect of Inhambane, the spiritus lenis taking its place; but in almost all languages of the Middle Branch, it becomes *ng*, which letter stands here also generally for Kafir *ng*, whilst *nh* is scarcely ever found,* except in the languages of the North-western Genus, Kongo and Mpongwe, where it is found occasionally. Also in Isubu and Dualla it is seldom met with, and in Benga it seems not to occur at all.

* In oTyi-hereró one missionary (J. Rath) writes in a few cases *nh*, whilst the other (C. H. Hahn) has constantly *ng*.

90. *G* is rare in the Middle Branch languages, and also in the North-western Branch dialects, except as a mollification of *k* and of *ng*, and even then generally only at the beginning of a word.

C. DENTAL EXPLOSIVES.

91. Next to the guttural explosives, those of the dental order are most frequent in the Hottentot language, and here the stronger *t* is well distinguished from the softer *d*; though there are a number of cases, in which some observers have heard a *d*, and others a *t*.

92. Also the Kafir language has both these dental explosives; but the Se-tshuâna has no *d*, and its *t* corresponds to the Kafir *nd*, whilst an aspirated modification of the tenuis *th* (not the lisping English *th*), takes the place of the Kafir *nt*.

93. In the Northern Tekeza the *d* is only found before *i* as a demipalatalized sound; otherwise, as in Se-tshuâna, the liquids *r* and *l* correspond to the Kafir explosives *t* and *d*, whilst the Tekeza *t* stands in the place of a Kafir *z* and Se-tshuâna *ts*.

94. Kafir *nd*, however, is not altered in the Tekeza; but of Kafir *nt* only the nasal *n* remains in the Tekeza.

95. In Inhambane, *d*, *nd*, and *t* are found, the *t* standing for Kafir *t*, *nt*, *xl*, *z*, and *nz*, though sometimes also *d* is found instead of Kafir *t* and *z*.

96. In Sofala, Sena and Tette, *d*, *nd*, *t*, *nt*, and also *tt* and *ntt* (stronger explosives) are met with, generally corresponding in use to the identical Kafir letters.

97. The same is the case in the Makua language, though here particularly the *t*, not unfrequently, represents the sibilant of other dialects.

98. In this, it agrees with the Coast language of the North-eastern or Zangian Genus, the Kisuâheli, where *t* and *nt* (and even sometimes *nd*) stand frequently for *z* and *us* of the Kinika and Kipokómo.

99. On the other hand, the *t* of the Kisuáheli, Kikámbe and other dialects is changed, in Kinika and Kipokómo, into *h*.

100. The original *nt* of the Kafir is generally only preserved in Kipokómo, whilst in Kinika and Kisuáheli (as well as in the Makua language) it becomes *t*, and in Kikámbe (and Kihiaú) *nd*.

101. The *nd* is more constant in the Zangian dialects, whilst the *d* occurs in Kisuáheli and Kinika mostly in Arabic words; but it is, frequently indigenous in Kikámbe and Kihiaú, which two languages seem, however, to have no *nt*.

102. The latter letter is also very rarely, if ever, found in the languages of the South-western, or Bunda Genus, being changed in oTyihereró (as in Kikámbe and Kihiaú) into *nd*, in Benguela (as in the Tekeza) into *n*, and in Angola (as in the Se-tshuâna) into *t*.

103. But in the North-western, or Kongo Genus the *nt* is retained, and corresponds in Kongo at least to the same Kafir sound.

104. The simple *t* and the nasalized *nd* are in all the languages of the Western portion as frequent as in the other members of the Middle branch.

105. But the unnasalized *d*, which is very rare in the languages of the South-western or Bunda Genus, whilst in the Kongo language it seems to be only found as a modification of the *r* of other dialects, is here written *d*, and has probably, a peculiar pronunciation (§ 165). In Mpongwe, however, the *d* is not unfrequent.

106. In the North-western Branch languages (Benga, Dualla, and Isubu), the *nt* is again discarded and becomes here (as in the Angola and Se-tshuâna) *t*, besides which *nd* is here very frequently met with.

107. Simple *d* is in these dialects (of the North-western branch) generally interchangeable with the liquids *l* and *r*, and corresponds, not rarely, to an original *z*.

d. LABIAL EXPLOSIVES.

108. The Hottentot language possesses both labial explosives *p* and *b*; but the former (*p*) seems to be found only in one case at the beginning of a syllable, namely in *pirip* goat, and its derivatives, as *Piriku* (obj. *Pirikwa* in the /Kora, *Pirika* in the Nama Dialect), the Be-tshuâna and Kafir tribes.

109. In Kafir both labials are found in their simple as well as in their nasalized forms.

110. The Kafir *p* is in Sesuto changed into the corresponding fricative *f*, and in the Western Se-tshuâna into the spirant *h*, whilst in Tekeza it generally disappears altogether.

111. The dialects of the Tekeza species seem to be entirely destitute of this labial tenuis (*p*); but in Se-tshuâna the *p* stands in the place of Kafir *mb* and *mv*, and of Tekeza *mb* and *mf*.

112. An aspirated *ph* corresponds, in Se-tshuâna, to the Kafir *mp*, which sound becomes *m* in the Tekeza.

113. On the other hand, in such cases where Kafir *mb* is contracted from *mub*-, and corresponds, therefore, to Tekeza *mob*-, the explosive has prevailed over the nasal in the Se-tshuâna, which has retained here a simple *m*. For example, Kafir *si-m-buza* we ask him = Tekeza *tu-mo-botisa* = Se-tshuâna *re-motsa* (from *xo-botsa* to ask, *re-botsa* we ask) = oTyi-hereró *tu-mu-pura*.

114. The unnasalized *b* of the Kafir, generally retained in Se-tshuâna, keeps also its place in the Tekeza as the initial of the stem of a word; but in other cases it has, in the Northern Tekeza, been softened into *v*.

115. This is most generally the case in the Middle Branch languages, in which the *b* is either softened into the corresponding fricative *v* (rarely *f*), or the semivowel *w*, or it is dropped altogether. Where a *b* is here found, it does not in general correspond to the *b*, but to the *p* or

mb of the Kafir, or it is of foreign origin, as in many Ki-suáheli words.

116. Thus *b* is not unfrequent in the Angola, *b* and *bh* in the Kongo language. For example, Bunda *fuba* (meal flour) is the Kafir *inipupu*, Tekeza *múpu*, Maravi *úpfa*; and Kongo *bhobha* (to speak, talk) is Ilereró *púpa* (to warn, persuade).

117. In fact in the Kongo language simple *p* is rare, whilst in other Middle Branch languages it is generally more tenacious, except in the Ki-níka, where we see it sometimes changed into *v*, and in Ki-kámbe into *w*.

118. Nasalized *mp* is most generally commuted in the Middle Branch languages into *mb*, which corresponds, therefore, both to the *mp* and *mb* of the Kafir. Yet in Sena and Tette we find occasionally *mp*, and also in Kongo. In oTyi-hereró, whilst one missionary (Hahn) writes always *mb*, another (Rath) has here and there *mp*, though in cases, where it does not correspond to the Kafir *mp*, as for example, in *ompura* or *ombura* (rain), Kafir *imvula*, Se-tshuána *pula*, Tekeza *infula*, Inhamtane *nvula*, Tette *vúra*, Mozambique *ipulla*, Ki-hiáu and Ki-níka *mfúla*, Ki-kámbe *mbúa*, Ki-suáheli *mfúa*, Ki-pokomo *mfúiya*, Benguela *ombela*, Angola and Kongo *nvúla*, Dualla and Lubu *'mbua*.

119. The Mpongwe language, again, shares with the members of the North-western Branch the possession of all these labial sounds *p*, *mp*, *b*, *mb*.

4. FRICATIVE CONSONANTS.

120. Of fricative sounds, the Hottentot language possesses only the faucal spirant *h*, the guttural *x* (Schmelen's *g*, Knudsen's *ch*, Tindall's *gh*, said to be pronounced like Dutch *g* in "gaan" and German *ch* in "lachen,") the sibilant *s*, and perhaps the semivowel *w*. But it has

neither a palatal semivowel (*y*), nor the labial spirants *f* and *v*.* In this poverty of fricative sounds it approaches very near to the condition of the Australian languages which are entirely destitute of fricatives, except the semivowels.

121. Among the Bân-tu languages, the Kafir exhibits, perhaps, on the whole the greatest number of fricative consonants.

a. FAUCAL FRICATIVES.

122. The faucal spirant *h* is found in few Kafir words, part of which are of foreign extraction. In others it seems to be a mollification from some other consonant, for example for *hamba* (walk) the dialects of Sena, Sofala, Inhambane, and the Northern Tekeza (Lourenço Marques) have the form *fam'ha*, and the Southern Tekeza (Ma-n'olosi) *kamba*.

123. In Zulu the *h* has, except in a few cases, a more aspirated pronunciation, like *h'*, or almost like *x*.

124. In the Eastern Se-tshuâna (Se-suto) *h* rarely occurs, and seems then derived from a Kafir *k* (Western Se-tshuâna *x*, *vide* § 135), whilst in the Western Se-tshuâna the labial spirant *f* of the Se-suto (corresponding to the *p* and *f* of the Kafir and Zulu) has been changed into *h*.

125. The *h* of the Northern Tekeza is similarly descended either from *nh* or *p*, and seems frequently to have been further softened into the "spiritus lenis." In the words of the Southern Tekeza which are known to us, this letter does not occur at all.

126. In the dialect of Inhambane the spirant *h* seems usually to represent a sibilant (*s*) and sometimes a *k*; whilst in that of Sofala it stands generally for *k*, and occasionally for a sibilant.

* Except in the pronunciation of the Orlams, who have softened the explosive *b* frequently to the fricative *v*, written *w* by the Rhenish missionaries.

127. In the Makua language the *h* has also come from a sibilant *s*, (*z*), *nz*, or the dental *t*; and this dental tenuis is in the Ki-nika and Ki-pokómo most frequently softened to *h*, and sometimes this is also the case in these dialects with regard to the labial tenuis *p*.

128. The *h* of the Ki-hiú language is generally descended from a labial consonant, *f*, *v*, *p*, or *mb*.

129. In Ki-suáheli the *h* is of frequent occurrence, but mostly in foreign (particularly Arabic) words which have been introduced into this, and, in a less degree, into the Ki-nika and Ki-pokómo dialects.

130. In Ki-kámba and in the dialects of the Maravi, Tette, and Sena, the spirant *h* does not occur at all; and it seems to be entirely foreign to the Western languages of the Middle Branch (certainly to the Mpongwe, Kákongo, Kongo, and probably to the language of Angola), with the exception of the oTyi-hereró, where it is a sort of floating sound between *sh* and *h* (*vide* § 156) corresponding to the *s* (or *ss*) of the Bunda, Kongo, and Kafir.

131. In the same manner the Benga *h* is derived from an original *s*, as still preserved not only in the above-mentioned languages, but also in other dialects of the North-western Branch, as in the Isubu and Dualla, which latter dialects are again destitute of the spirant *h*.

b. GUTTURAL FRICATIVES.

132. The Kafir guttural *x* (*r* of missionary orthography), is found again in the Western Se-tshuána (where it is written *g*), in the Tekeza (for certain in the Southern dialect of the Ma-n'olosi), and also in at least some of the Eastern languages of the Middle Branch (for example, in the dialects of Sena, Tette, the Maravi and Ki-suáheli, where Krapf writes it *c*), and in the dialects of the A-lui, of Benguela and Angola (Cannecattim's *g'*, and perhaps also *k'*, represented by *k'* in the Bunda Catechism.)

133. But neither the oTyi-hereró, nor the Kongo and Mpongwe languages seem to have a guttural fricative, nor is it found in the North-western Branch dialects, the Benga, Dualla, and Isubu.

134. In those Bâ-ntu languages, in which this consonant is found, it is everywhere of rare occurrence, except in the Western Se-tshuâna, where it takes throughout the place of the explosive *k* of the Kafir and most other Bâ-ntu languages.

135. In the Eastern Se-tshuâna dialect (the Se-suto) this guttural has been changed into the aspirated faucal spirant *h* (written also *g* in Sesuto books), which has occasionally been converted into the pure spirant *h* (*vide* § 124). This aspirated faucal is, perhaps, also indicated by Cannecattim's *h^c* (the *h* of the Bunda Catechism.)

C. LABIAL FRICATIVES.

136. The labial fricatives *f* and *v* of the Kafir, are very common among the Middle branch languages, whilst the more northern of the North-western Branch dialects, namely, the Isubu and Dualla, have no *v*, and very rarely use *f*. The Benga, however, has a *v* which is generally derived from an original *p*; but the *f* seems in Benga not to occur except in foreign words, as for example in *fato* stocking, probably derived from the Portuguese *fato*.

137. Among the Se-tshuâna dialects, the Eastern (Se-suto) has lost the *v*, but retained the *f*, which latter letter is, in the South-western Se-rolon and Se-ǀlapi, constantly changed into *h*, whilst the North-western Se-tshuâna dialects have a *v* instead of it.

138. In Tegeza, the *f* stands, not only for the same letter of the Kafir, but also for the *v* of this language; whilst the Northern Tekeza dialects have mollified the *b*, in the grammatical parts of the language and in some other cases, into *v*.

139. It may be said that the Tekeza in this regard, and in some others, has been influenced by the Middle Branch languages, where the same mollification is most general.

140. For example, the Kafir word *a-bá-ntu* (people), Se-tshuána *bathu*, Isubu and Dualla *batu*, Benga *bato*, Southern Tekeza (Ma-n'olosi) *bánu*, becomes in the Northern Tekeza *vanu*, in Sofala, Sena, Tette *vánttu*, oTyihereró *o-vandu*, Nano *omano* (by assimilation from *ovano*, formed like *ova-lome* men).

141. This *v* has then further been softened down into the semivowel *w*, in the Maravi and Ki-pokómo form *wántu*, Ki-hiáu *wá-ndu*, Ki-suáheli *wátu*, Cape Delgado *wánu*; and it has been entirely dropped in the Makua form *attu*, Quellimane *antu*, Ki-kámba *andu*, Kinika *atu*, and among the Western Middle Branch languages, in Angola *o-atu*, Kongo *o-antu*, Mpongwe *anwana* (children = Zulu *abantwana*, diminutive of *abantu*.)

142. If we may trust to Krapf's orthography, the Ki-hiáu language has no *v* at all, and the Ki-kámba neither *v* nor *f*.

143. The latter letter (*f*) has also disappeared in oTyihereró* and Nano, but the more Northern languages of the Western side have it, as for example, the Bunda and Kongo. The latter language seems, however, to be without the *v*; but both labial spirants are again found in the Mpongwe.

144. The orthography of Portuguese and German writers, from whom most of our information regarding the Middle Branch languages is derived, renders it extremely difficult to know in all cases, whether the spirant *v*, or the semivowel *w*, is intended to be expressed; and it is, therefore, possible that, in this regard, the above remarks may be open to correction.

* Where it is commuted into *ʒ*.—(Vide § 150.)

d. DENTAL FRICATIVES, OR SIBILANTS.

145. In a similar predicament we are with regard to the geographical distribution of the sibilants *s* and *z*.

146. Both letters *s* and *z* seem to be found in the dialects of Sena and Tette, but we have no evidence that they are distinguished in any other of the Eastern dialects of the Middle Branch, and the presumption is that only *s* is known to most of them.

147. Among the Western languages both letters (*s* and *z*) are found in Mpongwe, and, probably, also in Kongo and Angola.

148. The Nano language (of Benguela) seems to possess only *s*, whilst the oTyihereró has lost these sibilants altogether.

149. It has, however, two lisping sibilants *ʒ*^c (similar to the English *th* in "think"), and *ʒ*^v (similar to the English *th* in "this" and "that"), which in the missionary orthography are expressed by *s* and *z* (*s* and *z* in Hahn's last publications).

150. The softer *ʒ*^v which is also found in the Nano language, sounds sometimes much like *l*, and corresponds to the *z* of the Kafir and other kindred languages, whilst the sharper *ʒ*^c is descended from an *f*, as found in corresponding words of the Bunda, Kafir, and other Bâ-ntu languages.

151. The North-western branch seems also to have only the sharper sibilant *s*, as far, at least, as we are able to judge from the Benga, Dualla, and Isubu.

152. Among the languages of the South-eastern Branch the Kafir and Zulu alone have both *s* and *z*, but the Tekeza and Se-tshuâna dialects do without the latter softer letter, which is converted into *t* in the Tekeza (and also in the aMa-swazi dialect), and into *ts*, or *l*, and *r* in the Se-tshuâna.

153. The Hottentot dialects have only one sibilant *s*, being also destitute of the aspirated sibilant *sh*, the *ʃ* of

Lepsius Standard Alphabet which I should have followed also in this instance, if not prevented by typographical difficulties.

154. This aspirated sibilant (*sh*) is found in Kafir, Se-tshuâna, and Tekeza. In the latter it represents Kafir *š* (*hl*) and *s*, whilst instead of Kafir *sh* we find in the Tekeza generally a *k*.

155. The *sh* is also found in most languages of the Eastern Coast, except in the Ki-kámba and Ki-pokómo, in which it seems not to exist.

156. Among the Western languages of the Middle Branch, the absence of *sh* is apparent in the Nano and in the Kongo language. It is doubtful in the Bunda, but certain in Mpongwe, whilst in oTyi-hereró (as in some New Zealand and other Polynesian dialects) an intermediate, or floating sound between *s* and *h*, takes its place (written *h* in the missionary orthography), derived in most words, from the sharper unaspirated sibilant of other languages (Kafir *s*, Angola *ss*, &c.)

157. In the dialects of the North-western Branch again, in the Benga, Dualla, and Isubu, no aspirated sibilant is in use.

158. I do not, however, include here such cases where an aspirated sibilant joined to a dental (or guttural, or labial) explosive, forms a palatalised consonant; as I shall treat of all such palatal sounds under the head of consonantal diphthongs.

c. SEMIVOWELS.

159. Regarding the semivowels *y* and *w* (particularly the latter), it is frequently very uncertain, whether they may be said to belong to a language, or not; for they are very liable to be expressed by the vowels *i* and *u*.

160. For example, Tindall enumerates them among the sounds of the Hottentot language; but in his vocabulary we find only one word with *y* (*yâp*, a rebok,) and two or three with *w* (*wa* all, *owa* return, and *swas* water barrel,

written by Knudsen *hoa*, *oa*, and *soas*, and by Schunelen *howa*, *oowaa*.) In fact, Schunelen's *w* seems frequently meant, not for the *v* sound, which it generally represents, but for the semivowel.

5. LIQUID CONSONANTS.

161. The Hottentot, as well as the Kafir, dialects are restricted to one liquid consonant for each language; but this is *r* in Hottentot and *l* in Kafir, Zulu, and the Southern Tekeza (aMa-n'olosi.)

162. The Se-tshuâna and the Northern Tekeza (Lourenzo Marques) have both letters *l* and *r* (the latter sound being most frequently descended from a Kafir *t*).

163. Among the Middle Branch languages, the Kikamba, Mbiza, and Kakongo agree with the Kafir in possessing only the *l*, and the dialects of Tette and Sofala, and likewise the oTyi-hereró, have only *r*. But both letters *l* and *r* are again found in all the other languages of this branch known to us; for example, on the Eastern side, in those of the Maravi, Sena, Inhambane, Quellimane, Mosambique, Cape Delgado, Kinika, Kipokomo, and Kisuáheli (where *r* is however chiefly, or perhaps exclusively, used in words of Arabic origin); and on the Western, in those of Angola, the Kongo, and Mpongwe.

164. Among the dialects of the North-western Branch the Benga has only the *l*, but the Isubu and Dualla have again both letters, *l* and *r*.

165. With regard to the *r*, it is to be remarked that it is never guttural, but always dental (sometimes perhaps lingual), and approaches frequently in sound the *l* and *d* very nearly, as, for example, in the Se-tshuâna. In Kongo it is then written *ɛ*; e. g. Kongo *sambuadi* (seven) corresponds to Bunda *sambudri*, oTyi-hereró *hambombari*.

6. COMBINED CONSONANTS.

a. HOTTENTOT COMBINATIONS OF CONSONANTS.

166. Of so called consonantal diphthongs, the Hottentot language possesses only *ts* (usually written *z*), if we do not comprise under this head the combinations of click with guttural, faucal, or nasal consonant (§ 62.) The so called palatal class of explosives is entirely missing here.*

b. KAFIR COMBINATIONS OF CONSONANTS.

167. In Kafir, on the contrary, the palatal sounds *ty*, *tsh*, and *dsh* (*j*) are of frequent occurrence.

168. In Zulu books, the *tsh* is frequently written *ty*, and etymologically this is perhaps, not wrong, though it does not always express the exact pronunciation.

169. We shall see afterwards, how in certain cases in the Kafir (and Zulu) language, a *p* and *mp* is, in the middle of a word, changed into *tsh* and *ntsh*, and a *b* and *mb* into *ty* or *dsh* and *ndsh* (§ 280). Also in other Kafir words palatal sounds can, by comparison with other dialects, be traced to a palatalisation of original labial explosives (§ 277), and it is doubtful whether, in any case, a Kafir palatal sound can be considered as primitive.

170. Also the combination *ts* is found, though it occurs not frequently without a preceding nasal in the proper Kafir language, and never in Zulu. The nasalized form *nts* seems to be derived from *ns*, the *t* being a mere help to the pronunciation. (§ 77.) That the simple *ts* is rather a foreign introduction, we are also led to assume from the fact of its prevalency in the Kafir female Xlonipa words, where it stands for common *d*.

* In the /Kora dialect Wuras distinguishes a *ky* (written by him *kj*), which is found in a few cases corresponding to the simple *k* of the Nama dialect.

C. SE-TSHUÁNA COMBINATIONS OF CONSONANTS.

171. In Se-tshuána the *ts* is very common, and it corresponds here, usually, to Kafir *z*, and Tekeza *t*; but there is a general tendency towards this sound in the Western Se-tshuána dialects, by which also other consonants (as aspirated linguals, or the simple lingual *l*, or hard guttural or labial explosives) may be commuted into *ts*. It can also stand merely for Kafir *ns* and *nts*, though the Se-tshuána has also the nasalized *nts*.

172. Besides this, the Se-tshuána has the *tsh* (*ch* of Se-suto, *c* of Se-ǀlapi books), which stands, usually, instead of the same Kafir sound. It also occurs, as a modification of the *ts*, in certain inflections (*vide* § 281), and in some cases it is used even where the Kafir has a labial sound; for example *tshuána* (be alike) is the Kafir and Ki-suahéli *fana*, o'Tyi-hereró *ṣ'ana*, Bunda *fāngana*, Kongu *fanana*.

173. The other palatals *ty* and *dsh* do not exist in the Se-tshuána; but when *b* is palatalised, it disappears altogether, before the inserted *y*, which therefore, corresponds in these cases, to Kafir *ty* and *dsh*.

174. Another consonantal diphthong peculiar to the Se-tshuána, is the *kh^c* of the Sesuto, *kx* of the Western dialects (both sounds expressed alike by *kh* in the missionary orthography, *kg* in some native manuscripts), which corresponds to Kafir *ñk*, and seems to be originally a mere aspiration of the guttural explosive, intended to compensate for the loss of the suppressed nasal.

D. TEKEZA COMBINATIONS OF CONSONANTS.

175. Though in the Northern Tekeza (Lourenzo Marques), the process of palatalisation is not carried so far as in Kafir, yet we have a greater variety of palatal sounds, the intermediate changes of palatalisation showing here very prominently its origin.

176. Thus we find in Lourenzo Marques *bdsh* corresponding to Kafir *ty*, and *mbdsh* to Kafir *ndsh*; e.g. *ribdsha*

(stone), Kafir *ilitye*, Sexlapi *leintshue* (pl. *maye*); and *imbdshana* (little dog), Kafir *indshana*, Sesuto *ntshana*; and also *nambdshana* (little river), Kafir *umlandshana*, Se-tshuâna *molatshana*, from *nambo* (river), Kafir *umlambo*, Se-tshuâna *molapo*.

177. Then we find in Lourenzo Marques *mps* instead of Kafir *tsh*, as *ma-mps* 6. (new), Kafir (*u*)*ma-tsha*, 6. Se-klapi (*a*)*ma-sha*, Inhambane and Ki-suâheli *-pia*, Makua *-psia*, Sena and Tette *-psa*, Sofala *-psa*, Kinika and Ki-pokómo *-fia*, Ki-kamba *-nsao*, oTyi-hereró *-pe*, Bunda *-be*. This shows evidently a descent of the *tsh* from a palatalised labial.

178. In the same manner, *ps* of the Lourenzo Marques, corresponding to a *z* in Kafir, indicates the latter's origin from an original *p*, as found still in Middle Branch dialects.

179. Also *tsh* is not unfrequent in the Lourenzo Marques. It does not, however, correspond to Kafir *tsh*, but to Kafir *s*; and it is (as from comparison can easily be seen) derived from an original *k*.

180. A *dsh* is once or twice found in the Lourenzo Marques, corresponding to a Kafir *k*.

181. *Ts* corresponds in Lourenzo Marques almost constantly to Kafir *t* (particularly before *i* and *e*) and *d* (particularly before *u* and *o*); whilst the *dz* of Lourenzo Marques is descended from a Kafir and Se-tshuâna *l*, when followed by *i*, or *e*.

6. EASTERN MIDDLE BRANCH COMBINATIONS CONSONANTS.

182. In the most Southern languages of the South-eastern or Mosambique genus of the Middle Branch, consonantal diphthongs are, in general, less usual.

183. In the dialect of Inhambane *tsh* occurs, not unfrequently, instead of Kafir *s*, sometimes also instead of *ʃ* (*hl*) and *l* (dental click) of the Kafir, corresponding, in the latter case, to a *t* of the Tekeza.

184. The softer palatals *dsh* and *ndsh* occur less frequently in Inhambane, where they are found corresponding to Kafir *nxl* (*ndhl*), the *ndsh* also to Kafir *nz*, as *inya-ndshe* (fish), Kafir *inxlanzi*, Lourenzo Marques *nxlamfe*, Se-tahuana *xlapi*.

185. In Sofala the *tsh* is of much rarer use, though also corresponding to Kafir *s*; but *dsh* is not unfrequent in the place of Kafir *z* (particularly before *i*), and *ndsh* in the place of Kafir *nz* and *nxl* (*ndhl*). Once at least Sofala *ndsh* corresponds to an *ng* of the Western languages, namely in *vandshi* (elder brother), Bunda *pangi*, Kongo *mpangi*, Mpongwe *omwāngwe*.

186. In one solitary instance, *ty* is found in Sofala, namely in *batya moriro* (light a fire), Kafir *basa umlilo*.

187. A greater variety of consonantal diphthongs is again found in the dialects of the interior (Sena, Tette, Maravi), in which, again, combinations of labial sound with sibilant are found, though in these cases the sibilant is not aspirated.

188. Thus we find *ps* in Tette instead of Kafir *s* in cases where the dialect of Sena has retained the primitive *p*. In an other case, where both dialects (Sena and Tette) have *ps*, the Kafir has merely *sh*, whilst other dialects show the primitive simple *p* (*vide* § 177.)

189. The *bz* of Tette, when corresponding to Kafir *z* (and Sena *dz*), seems to be merely a mollification of the *ps*. In other cases it corresponds to Kafir *s*, whilst the Sena has the unpalatalised *bv*. In several instances Tette and Sena *bz* is found in the place of Kafir *ty*. In one word the dialect of Sena has *bz* for Kafir *zw*, namely *ribze* (voice, word), Kafir *ilizwi*, Sesuto *leintsue*, Lourenzo Marques *rito*, Inhambane *kito*, Mosambique *inzú* (pl. *mazu*), Angola *risui* (pl. *masui*).

190. The combinations *ts* and *dz* occur in Sena, Tette and Maravi, corresponding to Kafir *nts*, *nz* and *z*.

191. The aspirated *tsh* is found in Tette and Sena (which has also *dsh*) instead of Kafir *s* (before *i*) and the

more primitive *k* of some other Middle Branch languages, whilst the Maravi has, in these instances, either the intermediate *ksh*, or the more palatal sounds *ty* and *dy*.

192. Also labial combinations occur in these dialects, as *bf* (or *pf*) in Sena and Tette in the place of Kafir *f*, and *bv** in Sena and Maravi instead of Kafir *v* and Zulu *zw*.

193. A gutturalised labial occurs in the Maravi word *mpxanga*, brother.

194. The combination *ps* occurs in the Mosambique Makua word for "new" (§ 177), and *bz* in one other word of this language.

195. The Cape Delgado dialect of the Kisuáheli offers one instance of the use of *mps*, and a few cases of words with *bv*.

196. Otherwise the languages of the North-eastern or Zangian genus known to us, do not offer any instance of a combination of labials with palatals or sibilants.

197. The palatal *tsh* (mostly derived from *k*, and corresponding to Kafir *s*) occurs in the Makua dialects of Quellimane and Mosambique, in the Kisuáheli dialects of Cape Delgado and Mombas, and in the Ki-hiáu, where Krapf writes it *tj*.

198. The softer *dsh* (*j*) is not only found in these dialects, but also in the Kiníka, Kikámbe and Kipokómo. It is found here also nasalised.

199. The Kisuáheli and Kiníka dialects distinguish besides also the *dy* (written *j* by Krapf) and *ndy*.

f. WESTERN MIDDLE BRANCH COMBINATIONS OF CONSONANTS.

200. On the Western coast, the palatal sounds, or consonantal diphthongs are comparatively few.

201. The oTyihereró has, indeed, even the labial palatals *py* and *mby*, but they occur extremely seldom.

* I am not quite certain, whether the *v* does not here indicate the semivowel *w*. (Vide § 144.)

202. Frequent are, however, in this language, palatal sounds descended from gutturals, namely *ty* and *ɲdy* (Hahn's *k'* and *ng'*) which, like the Zulu *ty*, have a tendency to be pronounced as *tsh* and *ndsh*.*

203. Also in Nano (Benguela) *ty* and *ɲdy* are found; but whether the language of Angola possesses similar palatal sounds is doubtful.

204. The old Kongo language keeps entirely clear from palatal sounds, or any other consonantal diphthongs.

205. The modernised state of the Mpongwe language is sufficiently shewn in its possessing, not only, the palatals *dsh*, *ndsh* and *ɲty*, but also the palatalised soft sibilant *zy*.

206. The Mpongwe has also a labial sound, intermediate between *f*, *v* and *w*, usually written *fw* or *vw*, which is probably similar in pronunciation to the *bv* noted above (§ 192).

G. NORTH-WESTERN BRANCH COMBINATIONS OF CONSONANTS.

207. In the North-western Branch, the palatal *dsh* (*j*), with *ndsh* (*ɲj*), occurs in Benga, Dualla, and Isubu, which latter dialect has also the intermediate forms *gy* and *dy*, whilst in the Benga again the labial combination *bw* is found.

A. COMBINATIONS OF LINGUAL AND GUTTURAL CONSONANTS.

208. It is possible that the so-called aspirated linguals may also not improperly be considered as consonantal diphthongs. Very frequently their origin seems indeed to be that of a lingualised guttural, or of a gutturalised lingual. For examp.e, Kafir *xlala* (*sit*) seems derived from Inhambane and Mosambique *kala*, Sofala *gara*, Tette, Sena, and Maravi *kára*, Cape Delgado *ikhála*, Ki-suáheli *ká*, Ki-níka *sagala*, Ki-kámbe *ikhala*, Ki-pokómo

* In his last publications Hahn distinguishes also the semipalatalised letters *t* and *d*, as he writes them, and the nasalised *nd*. The latter represents here also the *ndʒ* (*nds*) of his grammar. (Vide § 230.)

kaa, oTyi-hereró *kara*, Angola *kàla*, Kongo *ikala*, Dualla *ga* or *dsha*, Isubu *gya* or *dsha*. The Kongo and Kikamba form seems here the most primitive, and from it (by a change produced by assimilation, the initial guttural becoming an aspirated lingual) the Kafir form may have descended.

7. NASAL SOUNDS.

a. HOTTENTOT NASALS.

209. A distinguishing trait of the Hottentot language is also its small variety of clear nasal consonants.

210. The Hottentot language is mainly restricted to the dental nasal *n* and to the labial *m*; and these nasals are not found before other consonants at the beginning of a syllable, but they either immediately precede a vowel, or follow it, closing the syllable. In the latter position, also, the guttural nasal *ñ* is met with, though exceedingly rarely. At the beginning of a syllable, however, the dental nasal *n* can (like the guttural explosives and the faucal spirant) have a click before it. (§ 62.)

b. BÂ-NTU NASALS.

211. The Bantu languages have at once a greater variety of nasal consonants, and they are here made to precede most other consonants at the beginning of a syllable.

c. NASALISATION IN KAFIR.

212. This is particularly the case in the most primitive types of these languages; for example, in the Kafir.

213. Here we find not only the simple *n* and *m*, and the palatalised *ny* beginning syllables, but all other consonants (except *h*, *x*, *sh*, and *l*) can be preceded by a nasal.

214. This initial nasal is the guttural *ñ* (which is, however, in Kafir and Zulu books always written *n*) before the guttural consonants (as *ñk* and *ñg*), the aspi-

rated lingual (as $\pi^{\text{h}}l$), and of course also before the guttural pronunciation of the clicks (as πl , $\pi\parallel$, πl , vide § 63); whilst the labial m is constantly found before labial consonants, (as mp , mb , mv , mf); and whenever, in the course of grammatical formation, the dental nasal is put before a guttural or labial consonant, it is changed, respectively into the guttural or labial nasal.

215. The dental nasal π is, therefore, only found before dental explosives (as πt and πd) and fricatives (as πs and πz), pure palatals as (πty , πtsh , πdsh , πxl)* and clicks (as π ,¹ $\pi\parallel$, πl).

216. When π comes to stand before s and sh , a t is inserted, so as to produce the combinations πts and πtsh . (§ 170.) Before h and l , the nasal is usually dropped.

217. This nasalisation of consonants is a very ancient characteristic of the Kafir language, which has frequently been lost in more modernised Bâ-ntu languages; whilst the employment of an initial labial nasal m before all consonants, of whatever order, is a recent feature, and has evidently arisen from the suppression of some vowel (most generally u) which is still visible in most cognate dialects. In fact, a sort of indistinct vowel sound may still be said to be heard with this initial m , separating it to such an extent, from the following consonant, as to prevent its influencing or being influenced by the latter.

D. NASALISATION IN SE-TSHUÂNÀ AND TEKEZA.

218. Whilst the Se-tshuânà and Tekeza have in the lastmentioned cases, by the retention of the vowel (which

* It is a misprint in Hahn's Hereró Grammar, p. 3, when in the system of consonants given there according to my arrangement, the palatal nasal is ma'e to precede the palatal media. It ought to be πy (i.e. πdy) instead of $\pi'g$ (i.e. πdy). Besides the π , π , π and π' (πy), Hahn distinguishes in his latest Hereró publications also an π , a nicety of pronunciation which is observed by him alone. This π seems to be lingual, as it is said to be pronounced broadly, the tongue being pressed flat against the palate.

is in Kafir here suppressed or made indistinct) after *m*, avoided even the semblance of an indiscriminate labial nasalisation of initial consonants;—the Se-tshuâna has, on the other hand, almost entirely suppressed the ancient initial nasalisation of consonants. Only in few cases (and these mostly monosyllables) it has retained such initial nasals preceding other consonants; but in general, the nasal has disappeared, leaving however, traces of its influence upon the consonant which was preceded by it, and which has generally assumed a somewhat altered form.

219. Thus we find as a general rule that a transition take place in the South-eastern Branch from

Kafir nasalised tenuis.....	\overbrace{nh}^{nh}	$\overbrace{mp\ mf}^{mp\ mf}$	\overbrace{nt}^{nt}
to Se-tshuâna aspirated tenuis.....	$\overbrace{h^x, \text{ or } h^c}^{h^x, \text{ or } h^c} (kh)$	\overbrace{pk}^{pk}	\overbrace{th}^{th}
from Kafir nasalised media.....	\overbrace{ng}^{ng}	$\overbrace{mb\ mv}^{mb\ mv}$	\overbrace{nd}^{nd}
to Se-tshuâna simple tenuis.....	\overbrace{k}^{k}	\overbrace{p}^{p}	\overbrace{t}^{t}
from Kafir nasalised aspirated lingual, or palatal.....	$\overbrace{nxl (nkl)}^{nxl (nkl)}$	$\overbrace{nxl (ndhl)}^{nxl (ndhl)}$	$\overbrace{ntsh\ ndsh (nj)}^{ntsh\ ndsh (nj)}$
to Se-tshuâna simple aspirated lingual, or palatal.....	$\overbrace{xl (tl)}^{xl (tl)}$	$\overbrace{xl (thl)}^{xl (thl)}$	$\overbrace{tsh (c \text{ or } ch)}^{tsh (c \text{ or } ch)}$
from Kafir nasalised sibilant, or palatal aspirated lingual.....	$\overbrace{ns (nts)}^{ns (nts)}$	\overbrace{nz}^{nz}	$\overbrace{nxl (ndhl)}^{nxl (ndhl)}$
to Se-tshuâna simple explosive sibilant	\overbrace{ts}^{ts}		
from Kafir nasalised palatal semivowel, or soft explosive.....	\overbrace{ny}^{ny}	$\overbrace{ndsh (nj)}^{ndsh (nj)}$	
to Se-tshuâna simple palatal semivowel.....	\overbrace{y}^{y}		

220. In fact, in Se-tshuâna a consonant following immediately a nasal sound, may be said to become, almost throughout, more explosive, and on account of the greater stress laid upon the explosive pronunciation, the nasalisation dwindles almost entirely away.

221. The Tekeza has, on the contrary, nearly throughout, retained the nasal, and before a tenuis the nasal has even prevailed entirely, and has made the tenuis disappear after it, so that Kafir *nt* becomes *n* in Tekeza, Kafir *mp* becomes *m* in Tekeza; and the guttural nasal entirely disappearing, Kafir *nt* is in Tekeza dissolved into the "spiritus lenis."

222. In other cases, before a soft explosive (*media*), or before an aspirated lingual, the nasalisation remains, in general, in the same cases as in Kafir, with slight changes of course in the pronunciation, such as the relation in which both languages stand to each other may require. For example, Kafir *mv* is in Tekeza changed into *mf*.

223. Whether the Se-tshuâna *ñ* (*ng* of Sesuto, *ñ* of Sešlapi books) is exactly like the Kafir and Tekeza *ng* is uncertain. It certainly is, to such a degree, peculiar in its use, as it occurs most usually at the end of a syllable, and particularly of a word, and is here generally descended by contraction from the Kafir syllables *-ni* and *-nga*.

6. NASALISATION IN THE MIDDLE BRANCH LANGUAGES.

224. Among the Middle Branch languages, few have preserved the initial nasals in such integrity as we find them in Kafir; but none have gone quite so far in discarding them as the Se-tshuâna.

225. The Middle Branch languages agree with the Tekeza in retaining, generally, the nasal *media*, whilst the nasal *tenuis* is rarely met with, except in the North-western genus (Kongo, Mpongwe). In other Middle Branch languages, the nasal *tenuis* is either converted into the nasal *media*, or it is changed in some other way.

226. Thus the dialect of Inhambane agrees with its neighbour, the Tekeza, in the elision of the *ñl* (particularly at the beginning of words). For example, Kafir *inkosi* (chief) becomes in Se-tshuâna *kɔsi* or *kh'osi*, in Lourenço Marques *a-hose*, and at Inhambane *osi*. Farther, Kafir *inkomo* (cow, ox) is in Se-tshuâna *kɔmu*, or *kh'omo*, Lourenço Marques *umo*, Inhambane *ombé*, Makua *inyope*, and in all other Eastern Middle Branch languages *ngombe*, and in the South-western or Bunda genus *ongombe*.*

227. The *nt* offers a far greater variety in its treatment. It is retained in Sofala, Sena, Tette, Kipokómo, and in the languages of the North-western genus (Kongo, &c.) It is softened into *nd* in the Kikamba, Ki-hiâu and the oTyi-hereró. It loses (as in the Se-tshuâna) the nasal and becomes *t* in the Eastern Coast dialects of Inhambane, Quelimane, Mosambique, Ki-suáheli and in the language of Angola. Finally, the *t* disappears and the nasal *n* alone is retained (as in the Tekeza) in the language of Benguela.

228. The *mp* stands only in Sena, Tette, and in the North-western or Kongo genus. Otherwise a mollification of this sound to *mb* takes place, most generally, throughout the Middle Branch.

229. The North-western or Kongo genus of the Middle Branch has retained the nasal not only (as many

* Is this perhaps the same word with the Nama Hottentot word *gumap* (of Tindall, Le Vaillant and others, *komap* f Schmelen, *kamab* of Knudsen) masc. sing. ox, with the plur. *gumaku* oxen, fem. sing. *gumas* cow, plur. *gumati* cows, common plur. *guman* cattle, &c.? Or is the similarity merely accidental? In the North-western branch of the South African division of the Bantu languages, other words for cattle are found, and this is also the case in Mpongwe. In the latter language a cow is called *nyare*, which word corresponds exactly to the Kafir noun *inyati* (buffalo), Lourenço Marques *inyarre*, Inhambane *nyarri*, Sofala, Sena, Tette and Kisuheli *nyati*, Makua *nára*, Ki-nika and Ki pokóma *nythi*, oTyi-hereró *e-nyati*. On the other hand, Madagascar has borrowed the first word from the Continent of Africa, the Malagasy form *umbi* (written *ombi*) coinciding most nearly with that of the dialect of Inhambane.

other Middle Branch languages) before *v* and *z*, but also before *f* and *s*.

230. The *nz* is also found in the language of Angola, and corresponds here to the *ndʒ* (*ndz*) of the oTyi-hereró. (§ 202 note.) In the latter language the nasal is always dropped before *ʒ* (*s*) and *h*.

231. It is curious to remark that in Brusciotto de Vetralla's Kongo Grammar, the nasal before a labial consonant (*p*, *bh*, *f*, *v*), is always written *n*. Whether this is merely an orthographical habit, or whether, indeed the dental (and not the labial) nasal was here heard, is not quite clear. In some Mosambique languages, a similar orthography is not unfrequently observed.

232. The so-called false labial nasalisation of the Kafir (§ 217) occurs only in very few Middle Branch languages, as in Ki-suáheli and Ki-nika, and is here quite evidently (as in Kafir) a mere modern contraction.

233. In Mpongwe a few cases are mentioned in which a nasal precedes a liquida, as *nl*. Here, however, the *n* is said not to belong to the consonant, but to indicate the nasal pronunciation of the preceding vowel. We suppose, therefore, that in the monosyllables which begin with this sound, the *n* has a similar power.* A nasal pronunciation is also ascribed to other syllables. (Mpongwe Grammar, p. 9.)

f. NASALISATION IN THE NORTH-WESTERN BRANCH LANGUAGES.

234. In the North-western Branch (Benga, Dualla, &c.,) the nasalised guttural and labial tenues are indeed found, but they occur very rarely, and are perhaps even then not original. The nasal *nt* is here (as in the Setshuâna, &c., § 227) changed into *t*.

235. In Isubu, in one instance at least, a guttural nasal is found before a labial media, namely in 'ngbwa or

* Comparative philology seems to render it probable that the Mpongwe sound *nl* (more frequent in modern publications in that language) is intended to indicate an intermediate sound between the liquid and the nasal, or an *l* which is in the course of transformation into *n*.

mbwa (dog), Dualla *mba*, in Mpongwe and in the North-eastern or Zangian genus *mboa*, in the South-western or Bunda genus *o-mbua*, in the South-eastern or Mosambique genus and in the Tekeza *imbua*, (whence the Malagasy *ambua*, written *amboa*), but in the other South-eastern branch languages palatalised to Sesuto *mptsha*, Seǀlapi *entsha*, Kafir *indsha*. If this were more than a solitary instance of such a combination of sounds in the Isubu, it would invite a comparison with the sounds *kp* and *gb*, which are so frequently met with in West African languages.

g. NASALISATION IN THE HOTTENTOT LANGUAGE.

236. We mentioned above that in the Hottentot language (in distinction from the Bâ-ntu languages) a nasal cannot precede another consonant, or, at least, form the beginning of a syllable in combination with it. But notwithstanding the hereby limited use of clear nasal sounds, the Hottentot language sounds much more nasal than the Bâ-ntu languages. This is produced by an unclear nasal pronunciation, which affects very many syllables, and though it extends over the whole length of a syllable, is perhaps, most strongly felt in its vowel.

237. This unclear nasalisation of Hottentot syllables has been marked by different writers in a very different manner. Schmelen's method in this regard is not quite clear, but a *g* at the end of a syllable seems frequently intended for this purpose, and sometimes an *n*. Knudsen marks it in his spelling-book by a star prefixed to the syllable, and in his Luke by a prefixed dot at the bottom of the line. Wallmann in his vocabulary, Tindall and, recently, the Rhenish missionaries indicate it by a French circumflex \wedge over the vowel; but in his grammar Wallmann has, in accordance with Lepsius's standard alphabet, commuted the latter mark into the Greek circumflex

238. For example, Schmelen's *siig* (and) is Knudsen's **zi* (of the spelling book) and *.zi* (of the Gospels), Tindall's *zt*, Wallmann's *zī* (to be pronounced *tsi*); and Schmelen's *kāia* (good) is Knudsen's ³³**gai* (of the spelling book) and *.gai* of the gospels), Wallmann's (vocabulary) *'gāi*, Tindall's *qhūi*, and Wallmann's (grammar) *lgāi*.

239. In the /Kora Dialect, Wuras distinguishes even a slight nasal pronunciation (which he expresses by a prefixed ʔ) from a broad nasal sound, marked by a Greek circumflex over the vowel. (*Vide* Sir G. Grey's Library, vol. i, p. 20.)

240. This unclear nasalisation of the Hottentot language seems, in some cases at least, to have been caused by an ending nasal, which has at present disappeared, but is still felt in the nasal pronunciation of the syllable which it once followed.

III. VOWELS.

a. IN THE HOTTENTOT LANGUAGE.

241. The Hottentot differs further, most decidedly, from the Bā-ntu languages by the possession of diphthongs. Whilst the latter languages are almost entirely restricted to clear simple vowels, the Hottentot language has besides them at least half a dozen different diphthongs, by which very nice distinctions of pronunciation are marked.

242. Thus we find in Nama Hottentot distinguished *ei* (Knudsen's *æi*, Schmelen's *y*) and *ai* (Schmelen's *ay*). The difference between both diphthongs is probably nearly the same as that between Dutch *ij* and *ei*. Tindall says that *ai* is like English *y* in "my," and *ei* like English *ey* in "they." The latter comparison is, indeed, only approximate.

243. The Nama Hottentot diphthongs *au* and *ou* may be supposed to be identical with the same Dutch sounds.

Tindall assigns to *au* the sound of English *ou* in "house," and to *ou* that of English *ow* in "sow." Wallmann writes the latter diphthong *ou*.

244. Finally, the Nama Hottentot has *oi* (like English *oy* in "boy") and *ui* (like Dutch *ui* in "tuin.")

245. The *ae* of Tindall (like English *ay* in "bay") seems not to be exactly a diphthong, but merely the broader pronunciation of the *e*, (Lepsius's *e* German *ä* or *ae*.)

246. Wallmann distinguishes also a more indistinct pronunciation of the vowels noted by a circle written under the letter, namely, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, &c. He states also that in the pure Nama dialect an intermediate vowel between *u* and *o* is met with, which he writes *o*, but which would better be represented by *û*. The Orlams pronounce an almost clear *o* instead of it.

247. In the orthography of a great number of Nama words, different observers are found to vary greatly, particularly with regard to the exact vowel sounds to be ascribed to them.

B. VOWELS IN THE BÂ-NTU LANGUAGES.

248. The Bâ-ntu languages may be said to have no diphthongs at all; yet some vowels, as *ai* and particularly *au*, are frequently—(for example, in Kafir and oTyi-hereró) pronounced so rapidly, as almost to approach the sound of a diphthong (like English *i* in "mine," and *ou* in "house").

249. Though in general, in the systems of writing adopted for the different South African Bâ-ntu languages, only the five clear vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* (with German or Italian pronunciation,) are distinguished, it cannot, however, be denied that in many of them also nicer shades of pronunciation can easily be marked, besides those necessarily arising from difference of quantity and accentuation.

250. In Zulu, for example, and in Se-suto a sound intermediate between *u* and *o* is found, which properly ought to be written *û*, but which is generally in the former language merely expressed by *u*, and in the latter by *o*. The sons of Moshesh denoted it by *ô* (*o* with a *u* over it, instead of our *u* with an *o* over it.)

251. The broad vowel *o* (having the sound of English *a* in "water" or "all," and of Danish *aa*) is met with in Mosambique languages, and also in the Mpongwe. In the missionary orthography of the latter language it is expressed by *â*.

IV. SYLLABLES.

1. SIMPLICITY OF THEIR STRUCTURE.

252. The Bâ-ntu languages and the Hottentot dialects agree, in general, with regard to the simplicity of the composition of their syllables. In both these families of South African languages, a syllable can begin with only one of the above described consonants (consonantal diphthongs, nasalised consonants, and combinations of clicks with other consonants reckoned for this purpose as substantially simple consonants). The semivowel *w* may, however, intervene between a consonant and a following vowel.

253. A South African syllable, as a general rule, ends always either in a vowel, or in a nasal sound, but never in any other consonant. (Exceptions *vide* § 257—260.)

2. NASAL TERMINATIONS.

254. In the Hottentot language, syllables and words end frequently with nasals (*m*, *n*, and once or twice *ŋ*.)

255. But in the Kafir and Zulu and most Bâ-ntu languages originally no word is found to end in a nasal; and nasals in the middle of a word generally may more

properly be said to belong to the initial consonant of the following, than to the termination of the preceding syllable.

256. In Sc-tshuâna, however, the ringing *n* (*ng* of the Se-suto and *n* of the Seǀlapi) is very frequent at the end of words, being here mostly descended from the terminations *-ni* and *-nga* as found in Kafir.

3. CONSONANTAL TERMINATIONS.

a. IN BÂ-NTU LANGUAGES.

257. By the falling off of the generally extremely short and almost indistinct terminal vowel of a word, there are sometimes, in Bâ-ntu languages, instances produced of consonantal endings of words. (*Vide* Hahn's Hereró grammar § 3.*) These cases are, however, so exceptional that they do not affect the character of the language, or the general constancy of the above rule.

b. IN THE HOTTENTOT LANGUAGE.

258. In the Hottentot language, on the contrary, this rule of non-consonantal terminations of syllables applies, in strictness, only to the roots of the words, but in the grammatical portions of the language, consonants are frequently made to close syllables.

259. Thus, as derivative suffixes of the nouns and as suffixed pronouns, we find most extensively used in Hottentot the sex-denoting and personal endings *-p* (masc. sing.), *-s* (fem. sing., and II. sing. fem.), *-ts* (II. sing. masc.) and in the /Kora dialect also *-r* (I. sing.)

260. There is no doubt that these consonantal endings were produced by a mere throwing off of a following

* The interjection *ih!* (pronounced *ish!* or *sh!*) given by Hahn may more properly be said to consist merely of the aspirated sibilant, used here like a vowel,—in the same manner as also a click sound is used in the Kafir and Zulu interjection *||* (*x*). Also in European languages clicks and spirants are in this way employed as interjections.

vowel, and what this vowel was can, in some instances at least, still be clearly shown.

V. RADICAL AND SERVILE LETTERS.

261. The last paragraphs afford a very clear exemplification of the observation, that the more frequent use to which, generally, the grammatical elements of a language are subject has the tendency to more rapidly wear them off, and by such modifications to bring them, as a general rule, into a more advanced stage of phonetical development.

262. It is on this account that, in the grammatical elements of the Hottentot language, clicks and diphthongs have entirely disappeared;* and though three-fourths of the words of this language may be said to contain clicks, yet it is as possible to speak whole sentences without a click as it is to write a page in English without using any but words of Anglo-Saxon origin.

263. For example among the phrases given by Tindall in his Grammar, the following are quite clickless :

<i>Taro ho-tsi hā?</i>	What is the matter with you?
<i>Hui-i hā-ba-tsi-dama hā.</i>	There is no help for you.
<i>Nep ke amaba-ra mi, noup ke-ra kara.</i>	This one tells the truth, the other deceives.
<i>Tariba dāusa sorii?</i>	What a burning sun?
<i>Hamo ni soua?</i>	When will it be fine weather?
<i>Tsi ni hamo uwa?</i>	And when will it return?
<i>Ho-n-ta hmi.</i>	Just as they find.
<i>Hē-ē, arin u-si-hā.</i>	No, the dogs have her.
<i>Buruḡa kḡoi-ta ke satsa.</i>	You are a strange person.
<i>Tari konkon-tsi hā?</i>	What has disturbed you?

* There are, indeed, several directives and emphatical pronouns which begin with clicks; but as almost all these are also found used as other parts of speech, and their etymology as such is very clear, they cannot be called mere grammatical elements with any more right than, for example, the English "on account of" may be called a mere preposition, or "His Honour" a pronoun.

Maba-ta huiha ni ho?

Where shall I find help?

Tē-ti-ta-ha, o-ta ha mi-ba-taiha
hā.

If you had asked me, I would
have told you.

O-ta hmo ni owa.

Then I will return.

Anip ta a.

The cock crows.

Ti sisinsa ta ho di tua.

I have finished my work.

In some Nama fables collected by Mr. Krönlein, the following clickless sentences occur:

I. In the fable of the elephant:

Os gere mī:

And she said:

"Hem! ti šab geib xaisi go huga
mī-hotamanara mihco."

"Umph! By the wife of my eldest
son things are said which she
never had said (before)."

"O! huga ta hī titeš ta hia."

"Oh! what I always should not
do, I do."

"Huga mī-hotamanara mīš xuiš
dibaxere!"

"As she says things which she
never said (before), do it then!"

II. In the fable of the flying lion:

xami ge goma hana hana ge toš.

The lion, it is said, used once
to fly.

Tšib gege mī: "Hāb garne, o-mī-
babi.

And he said: "When he comes,
so say to him:"

Tei sibge, obge ge tē: "Hamtiro
dī hā?" ti mī, &c.

And when he came, he asked:
"How have you made it?"
saying, &c.

"Neba ge aue go hā."

"Here came a man."

"Ne xūi ge khom ta titeš."

"Of that matter nothing is to be
said."

III. In the fable of the giraffe and the tortoise:

"Hugas ta dī game, os nī dī
game!"

"Have you not always sprinkled
me (with boochoo) that you
will sprinkle me now?"

IV. In the fable of the white man and the snake:

"Ta uk: i i ribi!"

"Do not lift him up."

V. In the fable of the ostriches hunted by tortoises:

Tei gu ge māgu hā in ge hana legu:
"Hātea!" ti mī.

And standing they asked each
other: "Art thou there?" so
saying.

264. In the same manner Appleyard, distinguishes in Kafir the clicks, the deep guttural, and the spirants (v,

f, h) as "radical letters, as they are only found in the roots of words," and proposes to call the remaining letters "serviles, as they are used in the formation and inflection of words, as well as in their roots."

265. This rule allows of much nicer distinctions, and similar natural distinctions of sounds can be observed in many other languages besides those of South Africa.

VI. GRAMMATICAL CHANGES OF SOUND.

266. In the grammatical portions of the Hottentot language, also, the rigidity of the non-interference principle of its syllables with each other (§ 52) is most signally broken through, particularly with regard to the derivative suffixes of nouns, the pronouns derived from them, and the personal particles. Here we find the different elements affecting each other to a considerable extent, and several coalescing into indivisible unities, the single component parts of which are not discernible, except to the most searching comparative analysis. As, however, these cases are too few in number to allow us to deduct from them any constant rules of euphony, we leave the deduction of what can be made out in this regard to the chapters regarding the analysis of the different parts of speech.

267. In the Bâ-ntu languages, on the contrary, such phonetical changes do not only affect the grammatical portions of the language, but the very stems of the words are commuted, not unfrequently, in accordance with the grammatical elements (suffixes or prefixes), and the different syllables of a stem can affect each other.

1. PHONETICAL INFLUENCE OF THE SUFFIXES UPON THE STEM.

a. SUPPRESSION OF THE ORIGINAL TERMINAL VOWEL.

268. In this manner, the ending vowel of the stem of almost all verbs has been entirely lost; for, in all verbal

forms grammatical suffixes are found, and before these the ending syllable of the stem has been constantly suppressed.

269. For example, in Zulu *uku-tand-a* is "to love" and *ngi-tand-ile* "I have loved." This would give the stem TAND; but as (according to § 253) a consonantal ending is incompatible with the original principles of structure in the Bâ-ntu languages, a vowel must be supposed to have been suppressed before the *-a*, which is the grammatical ending of the positive infinitive in the infinitive, indicative, &c., and before the *-ile* of the perfect, as well as before other grammatical terminations. As, however, the verb is always found with such grammatical terminations, it is scarcely possible, in the case of any verb, to say what was the original ending vowel of its stem; but for the purpose of analysis of the forms of the verbs, we shall indicate this obliterated vowel by the sign of the Hebrew \aleph (aleph); and we can, therefore, say that *tanda* is contracted from TAND \aleph -A.

b. ASSIMILATION OF VOWELS.

270. If we reduce in this manner any of the derivative forms of the verb, for example the causative *tandisa* to TAND \aleph -IS-A, the causative suffix seems to have the form IS, which is again impossible in the Bâ-ntu languages. But by analogy, we are led to conclude that the original form of this causative particle was SI, and that its ending vowel generally disappeared, after having influenced the preceding end vowel of the stem, in which it is, therefore, still preserved. Thus TAND \aleph -SI-A became by assimilation of vowels first TANDISIA, then by contraction *tandîsa*.

271. Similarly, in most verbal terminations, a vowel does not originally belong to the syllable in which it is found, but is derived from the syllable following it. For example, *bonakalisela* (be manifest to) is probably to be dissolved into BON \aleph -KALA-SI-LE-A.

C. TRANSMUTATION OF CONSONANTS.

272. But not only the ending vowel of the stem is affected by the grammatical terminations following it, but also in certain cases the last consonant, and sometimes the consonant of even distantly preceding syllables (very rarely, however, that beginning the stem) is changed through the influence of a grammatical suffix.

aa. Palatalisation of Labials.

273. This is regularly, under certain conditions, the case in the languages of the South-eastern branch, being effected by means of a palatalisation of labials. The rule by which this sort of palatalisation has been originated is that, when a labial explosive (*p*, *mp*, *b*, *mb*, or *m*) is followed by a labial vowel (*u*, *o*) or semivowel (*w*) which is by a succeeding vowel or syllable pressed against it,—then, for the purpose of facilitating the pronunciation, which seems rather impeded by the immediate contact of two labial sounds, the palatal semivowel *y* is produced as separating them from each other.

274. Through this insertion of *y*, there are in the first instance such palatal labial sounds produced as *py*, *mpy*, *by*, *mb y*, *my*. From these primitive labial palatals, all those palatal sounds which are descended from labials, are to be derived, the labial rarely remaining such, but being generally converted into a more dental sound, which, together with the following *y*, forms then a true palatal consonant. The *y* may then also, through the influence of the preceding dental, go over into an aspirated sibilant, and thus:

ty, *nty*, *dy*, and *ndy* can become
tsh, *ntsh*, *dsh*, and *ndsh*.

275. The true explanation is indeed that the dental has, in these cases, originally been first inserted between the labial and palatal, and has then most generally got the better of the labial, so as to make it entirely disappear before it.

276. In the same manner, even the palatal semivowel *y* may completely swallow up the labial consonant before it, on account of which it was at first originated, and it may, therefore, at present appear as if the labial had been immediately commuted into this semivowel.

277. How in such a manner a Kafir and Se-tshuâna palatal may have descended from an original labial, as still preserved in the more Northern languages, can be seen from the example of the Kafir and Zulu word *indsha* (dog), Sexlapi *entsha*, Sesuto *'mptsha*, if compared with the form of the Tekeza and of the Mosambique Genus *imbua* &c. (§ 235). That we find here in a Tekeza dialect (the most southern one, spoken by the Mani'olosi) the same form as in its neighbours of the Middle branch, may probably to some extent be due to the influence of the latter; for, otherwise the Tekeza shows generally intermediate forms (§ 175—177.) One Northern Tekeza dialect (that of the Ma-tonga) has, however, the form *imbiya*. What may be the exact Lourenzo Marques form of this word cannot be clearly made out from the diminutive *imbdshana* (§ 176).

278. But what concerns us here much more, and is of far greater importance from a grammatical point of view, is the constant phonetical change from labial to palatal sound which takes place within the same language, when in the course of inflection those circumstances are produced under which such a palatalisation is effected.

279. This is most regularly the case in the formation of passive forms of verbs in Kafir and Se-tshuâna. Whether also in Tekeza, we do not know, since no specimens of passive forms are given in our scanty vocabularies of Tekeza dialects.

280. The passive voice being formed by the apparent insertion of a labial vowel (*u* in Kafir and Zulu, *o* in Se-tshuâna) before the terminal vowel of the inflection of the verb, a preceding labial explosive is, in these

languages, always palatalised in consequence; and in this manner in Kafir and Zulu

p mp \overline{b} mb and m of active verbs become

tsh $ntsh$ ty , or dsh $ndsh$ and ny of the passive;

whilst in Se-tshuâna, where the nasal pronunciation has generally been converted into a stronger explosive one, with similar regularity in passive forms

p b and m become

tsh , or pi y and n , the latter being a further change from ny , which palatal nasal, even when found in the active form of Se-tshuâna verbs is always, in the passive, converted into the above guttural nasal n (ng or $ñ$)

281. The Se-tshuâna offers indeed a number of semi-palatal changes of other consonants, besides labials, in the passive formation. For example, the insertion of an i before the o takes place after u , s , ts , and nts ; and this is accompanied by a liquidisation of ts to r , when the ts is contracted from LIS (§ 296.) But when the ts is derived from an L which followed the syllable $-si-$ (§ 306), it is merely commuted into tsh before the passive $-o$, without an intervening i .

282. These changes, however,—though they may either be explained by assuming that the passive inflection itself contained originally the vowel i besides its characteristic labial sound, or that the labial vowel is (as the English u) even without a preceding labial, apt to call into existence an i or y before itself,—do not affect the indubitable rule of the palatalisation of labials, a rule not only apparent in these passive forms, but also in other inflections, as in diminutive nouns, and in the suffix locative case.

283. But before we proceed to a contemplation of the further illustrations of this rule, it is necessary to mention that this palatalisation of labial sounds never affects the first consonant of the stem of the verb; though, if the passive ending stands immediately after it, the first

step towards palatalisation, namely the insertion of the *i* before the *u*, takes place. This change does not, however, depend upon the precedence of a labial, but is general with such verbal stems with one consonant. Thus we have in Kafir

pa (give) pass. *piwa*, but *kupa* (turn out) pass. *kutshwa*;

bha (steal) pass. *bhiwa*, *aba* (judge) pass. *abiwa*, but *!huba* (drive) pass. *!hutya*;

and likewise

aka (build) pass. *akiwa*, but *faka* (put in) pass. *fakwa*;

ya (go) pass. *yiva*, but *fuya* (possess) pass. *fuywa*;

ta (pour) pass. *tiwa*, but *puta* (touch) pass. *patwa*;

and in Se-tshuana *ya* (eat) pass. *ycoa*.

284. The palatalisation of a labial consonant, according to the above rule, seems only then ascribable to merely phonetical influences, when labial and labial come immediately in contact with each other, *i.e.*, when the commutable consonant stands immediately before the passive termination. Yet in Kafir and Zulu also labials separated by one or more syllables from the passive *u*, are changed into palatals. In this manner, sibilants (as *s* and *z*), liquids (*l*), or nasals (*n*), and in fact any inflectional elements (or servile letters, § 264) may intervene between the two labial sounds, without apparently interrupting the mutual influence which they have upon each other in the above described manner. It may be, however, that these cases of apparently far-working phonetical influence are rather to be explained as formations caused by analogy, or as grammatical inferences of the natives. I mean to say that any one who was accustomed to the form *botshwa* (be bound) as passive of *bopa* (bind), would by analogy form from *bopela* (bind for) the passive *botshelwa*; or from *bambelela* (hold on) *bandshelwa*, as from *bamba* (hold) came the passive *bandshwa*. Similarly,

of *bubisa* (destroy) the passive is *budshiswa*, of *kumsha* (KUMUSIIA, translate) *kunyushwa*, of *gubungela* (cover) *gudshungelwa*, &c. &c.

285. This indirect palatalisation of labials, in consequence of which this process has from a mere euphonic change, become in Kafir and Zulu quite a characteristic of the passive voice, has not made its appearance in the Se-tshuana, nor does it extend to the other cases of regular inflectional palatalisation of labials, which occur in the languages of the South-eastern Branch.

286. Among these cases, one at least which is also restricted to the Kafir and Zulu, is produced by the same causes as the direct labial palatalisation before the passive termination. This palatalisation takes place before the only case termination of nouns, existing in the Bantu languages, that of the locative case, which is formed in Kafir and Zulu by the suffix *-ini* or *-eni*. When, therefore, the end vowel of the noun is a labial (*u* or *o*), preceded by a labial consonant, those circumstances arise which require the palatalisation of the latter consonant (§ 273). The palatalisation is, however, here accompanied by the disappearance of the ending vowel which primarily by its presence caused the palatalisation. The changes of sound effected hereby are the same as in the passive formations. But it is to be remarked that the palatalisation in the locative case is by no means so universal as in the passive,—there being not few cases, in which the labial consonant here remains unaltered.

287. This case termination having in Se-tshuana dwindled down into a mere ringing nasal sound at the end of the syllable, the circumstances which would produce a palatalisation of a labial sound did not arise (§ 273); and, therefore, such commutations are not found in this instance in the Se-tshuana language.

288. The third case of inflectional palatalisation of labials, that of diminutives of nouns, is common to all

three species of the South-eastern Branch. It is produced by the addition of the diminutive suffixes *-ana*, *-anyana*, &c. Here, however, the palatalisation of the labial explosives is not merely restricted to such cases, where an original ending labial vowel (*o* or *u*) has been suppressed before this termination, but in Kafir and Zulu at least, the change takes also place in numerous nouns ending in other vowels (as *a*, *e*, *i*). For example :

indaba news, *indatyana* little news,
inkabi ox, *inkatyana* a little ox,
m̃xlope white, *m̃xlotskana* a little white,
fupi near, *futshane* rather near.

289. We find corresponding to these last words in the Western Se-tshuâna: *χa-uhe* near, and *χa-utshuanyana*, rather near, where the change from the original *p* to *h*, peculiar to this dialect (§ 110 and 124), produces the appearance of a change of the spirant to palatal sound.

290. In Tekeza one instance of a palatalised labial in a case of this inflection is on record, namely, *nambo* (river, Kafir *umlambo*, Se-tshuâna *molapo*) has as diminutive form *nambdshana* (little river, Kafir *umlandshana*, Se-tshuâna *molatshana*).

bb. Permutations of other Consonants.

291. In Se-tshuâna, some other changes at the end of the stems, or in the terminations, take place, arising also out of the incompatibility of some consonant with a following vowel. In this manner the vowel *o* cannot stand immediately after the sibilants *s* and *ts*.

292. It is shown above (§ 281) how this is obviated in the case of passive verbs, by the insertion of the vowel *i*, accompanied in the case of *ts* by the latter's commutation into *r*.

293. But in the case of verbal nouns formed by the suffix *o*, an aspiration of a preceding sibilant takes place, and *s* and *ts*, therefore, become in this case in the Se-tshuâna, *sh* and *tsh* (*ch* or *c*.)

294. Even of more extensive influence in Se-tshuâna is perhaps the incompatibility of the sharp vowel *i* with a preceding *l*.*

295. If such a combination happens to take place in the formation of verbal nouns, then the *l* is always commuted into *r*, and in this case the rule extends also to such instances, in which the labial vowel *o*, indicative of the passive voice, intervenes between the liquid and the *i*,—e.g., *moaberoi* a partaker, from *abeloa* partake.

296. But when in the Se-tshuâna, the *i* (after *L*) is followed by the *s* of causative verbs, or by the *-le* of the perfect form, then the preceding *l* is either also merely changed into *r* (in which case the following termination remains without alteration), or into *ts*. In the latter case, the vowel and consonant following (that is the *-is* of the causative and *-il-* of the perfect) become contracted with this sibilant explosive. Thus from verbs terminating in *-ola*, causative verbs are formed ending in *-orisa* (—*κ*-*LO*-*SI*-*A*); and from those in *-ala* and *-ela*, causatives in *-atsa* (—*κ*-*LA*-*SI*-*A*) and *-etsa* (—*κ*-*LE*-*SI*-*A*).† Likewise of verbs ending in *-ila*, *-ula*, and *-ala*, the perfect termination is *-irile*, *-urile*, and *-arile*, and from others in *-ela* and *-ola*, it is *-etse* and *-otse*.

297. Other cases where the *l* of a suffix is influenced by the preceding syllable will be treated afterwards (§ 306 and 307.)

298. When in the Angola language, the end consonant, is an *l*, *t*, *nd*, or *z*, it is changed into *r*, *tsh(ch)*, *ndsh(ng)*, or *dsh(g)*, if the perfect termination immediately following it is *-ile*; and this is always the case, when the vowel preceding it is sharp (*i* or *u*, § 311), Dias p. 26.

* Also in Kongo and Bunda, the *l* before *i* is changed into *r*; but of course not in Kakongo, this language having no *r* (§ 163).

† The Kafir goes in this instance quite with the Se-tshuâna, forming from primitive verbs in *-ela* and *-ola*, causatives in *-esa* and *-osa*, the *s* corresponding to Se-tshuâna *ts*, (§ 171.)

299. In the case of the perfect of inersive verbs, however, generally a contraction takes place, the first liquid (or nasal, *vide* § 305) being omitted; and the initial vowel of the perfect termination by coming into immediate contact with the vowel characteristic of the inersive verbs, retains its sharp nature, whilst it transforms in its turn a preceding flat vowel into a sharp one (§ 302). For example, *sukula* (wash,) perf. *sukuile*, *sokola* (gather) perf. *sokuile*, *samuna* (comb) perf. *samuine*.

300. The Kongo has in this case similar contractions, preserving however, the vowel harmonic law in letting the quality of the preceding vowel preponderate over the following (§ 310), as in *zimuna* (speak ironically) perf. *zimuini*, *funguna* (confess) perf. *fungini*, *ebholu* perf. *bhole*, and *mona* (see) perf. *muene*, the *u* of which is probably intended for the semivowel *w*.

d. VOWEL HARMONY.

301. An influence of the beginning vowel of the suffixes of the verbs upon the last syllable of the stem is also sometimes remarked. For example, the Kafir perfect of the verb *ambut-u* (dress, Se-tshuâna *opara*) is *ambete* (Se-tshuâna *apere*) which is contracted from AMBAT¹NLE; and in the same manner we have the perfects *pete* from *pata* (touch, handle), *twele* from *twala* (carry), *lele* from *lala* (sleep), *bulele* from *bulala* (kill). The case of the change of the termination of reciprocal verbs in *-una*, passive *-anwu* in the perfect into *-ene*, passive *-enwe* as contracted from -AN¹NLE or (-N¹NALI) and -AN¹LWE (or -N¹NALWI), comes more under the head of § 271.

302. But the alteration of the ending *u* of the stem into *o* before the termination *-e* of the subjunctive, which is visible in the Se-tshuâna verb *utshua* (steal), subj.

utshoe, betrays a tendency for accommodating the stem to the suffixes. For a similar case in the Angola language vide § 299 (*sokuile*).

c. THE INITIAL OF THE STEM AFFECTED BY THE END.

303. The same is the case even with regard to the initial consonant of the stem, in the perfect form of *lula* (sit) which is *rutse*, instead of LULULE, the influence of the *i* which has now actually disappeared, having extended so far back as to touch even the more distant liquid, which forms the initial of the stem of this verb.

304. An analogous action of the posterior consonants of a stem upon its initial is observable in the South-western or Bunda genus of the Middle Branch, in which the nasals are apt to overrule the other consonants, and to attract them in such a manner that they are themselves transformed into nasals. Thus the verb *bona* (see) of the South-eastern branch (*bona* of Sofala, *pona* of the Mpongwe) becomes by this process *muna* in oTyi-hereró, *mona* in Bunda and Kongo, whilst in the other Middle Branch languages, the initial spirant *v* has been entirely dropped in the form *ona*. And in another language of this South-western genus, the Nano (of Benguela), the noun *omano* (men, sing. *omuno*) is in like manner descended from *ovano* (oTyi-hereró *ovandu*) corresponding to the Kafir *abantu* (sing. *umuntu*), Northern Tekeza *vana* (sing. *muna*) § 140.

2. PHONETIC INFLUENCE OF THE STEM UPON THE SUFFIXES.

a. ASSIMILATION OF CONSONANTS.

305. This process of nasal alliteration is, however, of considerably more importance, as affecting some verbal terminations in the Western languages of the Middle Branch; and in this case, the suffixes, instead of influencing the stem, are influenced by it, or rather in this case

by its last consonant. It is here again the liquid (*l* or *r* of the Kongo and Angola languages, and *r* of the oTyi-hereró) which, when in the termination of respective verbs and perfect forms, it happens to follow a preceding nasal *m* or *n* (be this radical or inflectional), is itself transformed into a nasal. Thus for the Kafir *tumela* (send to) and *tumil-* (have sent), Se-tshuâna *roméla* and *romile*, the Bunda genus (i. e., the oTyi-hereró, and the Angola language) has the forms *tumina* and *tumine*, the latter of which sounds in Kongo *tumini*; and instead of the Kafir perfect of the respective forms of verbs *tumcle* (contracted from *tumelile*, have sent for), Se-tshuâna *rometse*, the oTyi-hereró, has the form *tuminine*, and the Angola language *tuminene*. This rule applies also to some extent to the terminations of inersive verbs.

306. In Se-tshuâna, the liquid *l* is in the perfect suffix also sometimes influenced by the preceding consonant; namely, when this is a sibilant *s* or *ts*, after which the above liquid becomes itself the sibilant explosive *ts*. To avoid, however, the close approach of two such identical consonants, the preceding consonant when *ts*, is then in its turn liquidised (to *r*), and, therefore, the Se-tshuâna verbs ending in *-sa* and *-tsa* are in the perfect commuted in *-sitse* and *-ritse*, instead of *-SILE* and *-TSILE*, the latter of which is itself most frequently a contraction from *-LISILE* (§ 296).

307. In case of verbs with the sibilant explosive *ts* as end consonant, this change extends also to the respective forms of verbs, which end, therefore, in *-letsa* instead of *-TSELA*, or *-LISELA* (§ 296).

b. VOWEL HARMONY.

308. But the most general instance of a modification of the inflectional terminations in accordance with the stem of the word, takes place in consequence of the law of vowel harmony. According to this law, the vowel of the suffix is in so far brought into accordance with that

preceding it that, after a flat vowel (*a, e, o*), one of the same class is to follow, and likewise after a sharp vowel (*i, u*) only a sharp vowel.

309. This rule, in the Kafir and Tekeza species, affects only the locative termination, which is regulated in this manner, according to the quality of the terminating vowel of the noun to which it is suffixed. The latter disappears before the vowel of the suffix, or in case it is a labial vowel (*o, u*), it may also remain, being in that case in Kafir commuted into the semivowel *w*. Thus Kafir nouns ending in *-a* or *-e*, form their locative in *-eni* (Se-tshuâna *-en*), and those ending in *-o* either in *-eni* or *-weni* (Lourenzo Marques *-oeni*, Se-tshuâna *-on*), whilst the nouns ending in *-i* change this in the locative into *-ini* (at Lourenzo Marques also *-ini*, Se-tshuâna *-in*), and those in *-u* have *-ini* or *-wini* (Se-tshuâna *-un*.)

310. The immediate contact of the vowels may be said to have had here this harmonizing influence; but in the Bunda Genus and in the Kongo language, we meet, besides similar cases (§ 300), also regularly with such applications of this rule, in which its force is not interrupted by an intervening consonant. On the contrary it is the vowel preceding the last consonant of the stem, which here exerts its power over the vowel following it and belonging to the flexional termination (*vide* § 270).

311. In this manner the ending of respective verbs is in Kongo and Angola *-ela* (oTyi-hereró *-era*) or *-ena* after flat, and *-ila* (oTyi-hereró *-ira*) after sharp vowels. The ending of the perfect form is in Kongo and Angola *-ele* (oTyi-hereró *-ere*), or *-ene* after flat vowels, and in Angola *-ile* (oTyi-hereró *-ire*) after sharp vowels. The Kongo, in exhibiting in this latter instance the endings *-iri* or or *-ini*,—has carried the principle of vowel harmony also to the last syllable; wherewith the commutation of the *l* into *r* follows as matter of course (*vide* § 294 note.)

312. Whether the application of this rule to the ending of subjective causative verbs, which is in oTyi-hereró

-*eka* after flat, and -*ika* after sharp vowels, extends also to other Western Middle Branch languages, is uncertain.

313. In oTyi-hereró the rule has certainly no reference to the almost identical ending of subjective intransitives, -*ika* which retains its *i* also after flat vowels; and the same is the case with the causative termination -*isa* in oTyi-hereró, though in Kongo the latter is after *e* and *o* (but not after *a*) converted into -*esa*.

314. In oTyi-hereró we find also that the characteristic vowel of the passive termination varies in this manner, being *u* after sharp, and *o* after flat vowels. The Kongo passive forms appear not to be affected in this manner.

315. This rule of vowel harmony is in a very restricted manner carried out in the termination of inersive verbs, -*ura* or -*una*, which becomes -*ara* or -*ona* after a preceding *o*, but retains its sharp vowel after all other vowels, even after the flat *a* and *e*.

316. The law of vowel harmony in its full application is not restricted to these South African languages; but almost the same law is found in many other languages, particularly Tataric; and, in fact, it has here been considered by some comparative grammarians as a distinguishing characteristic of this family or class of languages. A detailed comparison, however, of the Asiatic and South African modifications of this grammatical feature cannot at present be given.

C. ASSIMILATION OF VOWELS.

317. More striking even than the vowel harmonic changes are those of the assimilation of vowels. They apply, as far as we know, only to the terminative -*a* of verbs, which is, in the Bunda Genus, in certain cases commuted into the vowel of the preceding syllable, whatever this may be. Thus in oTyi-hereró *suta* (pay), *tona* (beat), *pita* (go out), *teka* (dip), and *taka* (turn, swing), are respectively commuted into *sutu*, *tono*, *piti*,

teke, and *taka**, and in the Angola language *tundu* (go out), *zola* (love), *dshiba* (kill), *enda* (walk), *bangá* (make), become *tundu*, *zolo*, *dshibi*, *ende*, and *bangé*

318. That in the Angola language (as in the last verb) the *a* is also after another *a*, in this case, commuted into *e*, shows that the whole originated in a depression or shortening of the pronunciation of the end vowel, the quality of which being laid less stress upon, it became sufficiently indistinct or undefined to be attracted by the preceding vowel so as to be assimilated to it.

319. This assimilation has in the Angola language as yet only been recognised in one tense; but in oTyi-hereró in several positive infect. tenses of the indicative active, and in one negative imperative active form. Where, however, the imperative, infinitive, and participial forms have originally the termination *a*, this is also retained unaltered in oTyi-hereró.

3. PHONETIC INFLUENCE OF THE STEM UPON THE PREFIXES.

320. Though the stem of a word very frequently quite overwhelms the prefixes which are thus contracted, suppressed and wholly absorbed by it, yet there are only few cases of regular inflectional changes on this account.

a. ADAPTATION OF NASALS.

321. The nasal *n*, of course, when forming a prefix or ending it, is accommodated to the consonant which it precedes, and is therefore, changed before a labial

* Hahn is wrong in considering the assimilated as the radical forms of such verbs. Even if *suta* and *tona* were not derived from *suta* and *tona*, the end vowel can only have been produced by assimilation from SUTN and TONN; or if the end vowel were here really preserved, then the preceding vowel must have been assimilated with it, and the above forms have descended from SMTU and TPNNO; so that in neither case we are able to get at the full form of the stem of the verb. It is, however, in the highest degree probable that the explanation given above in the text, is the right one.

consonant into *m*,* and before a guttural into *n* which latter letter is, however, in most orthographies written *x* (§ 214).

b. DEPRESSION OF THE VOWEL *a*.

322. A depression of the vowel *a* to *e* in prefixes is frequently caused, not through the influence of the stem, but through the pressure of other prefixes following it and intervening between the commutable vowel and the stem. Thus when in oTyi-hereró the objective (pronominal and personal) prefixes are immediately preceded by prefixes ending in *a*, this vowel is depressed to *e*.

323. Similarly in Kafir the negative prefix particle *nga-* becomes *nge-* when standing before the verbal prefix particle *ka-* (yet), or when placed before any simple or demonstrative pronoun, or personal particle, in such a conjunction as that thereby the substantive verb is implied.

324. But whether the change of the *a* to *e*, observable not unfrequently in pronoun prefixes (for example in the objective pronouns of the oTyi-hereró, and the participial subjective pronouns of the Kafir), is also due to mere pressure, or other various causes, is not quite clear.

c. COALESCENCE OF VOWELS.

325. The change of the *a* of prefixes which takes place immediately before the stem of certain verbs in oTyi-hereró as well as in Kafir and Se-tshuâna, seems not so much caused by depression as by a coalescence with a vowel *i* or *e*, which formed originally the initial of the

* The *x* of the derivative prefixes of the nouns of the 9th (*x-*) and 10th (*Zin-*) classes seems indeed in Kafir and Zulu also before the "spiritus lenis" to be changed into *m* (Appleyard p. 100, Colenso § 63, Groot § 96). One of the few nouns exemplifying this rule is, however, evidently contracted, namely Kafir *imazi* 9. (cow) from Zulu *inkomazi*, which is probably itself derived from I-N-KOMO KAZI. Others are of foreign origin, for example *imali* (money) which is most likely of Arabic origin, and the *m* belongs here to the stem. In other cases, as in that of the Kafir noun *imalato* 9. (forefinger) from *alata* (point out), we cannot know whether an initial labial formerly appertaining to this stem, did not influence the nasal, as in some Tekeza nouns, in which the *m* is now found immediately before a vowel (§ 340).

stem, but has now in most cases been entirely suppressed, and is only visible, when in the above manner it has coalesced with the *u* of prefixes. For example, from the oTyi-hereró verb *ku-ya* to come, Kafir *u-ku-za*, Se-tshuána *xo-ǎla* (*go tla*) we have the irregular forms *u-e-ya* he came, Kafir *w-e-za*,* and the Se-tshuána *xe-ǎla* (*gé tla* Luke xxii, 7 &c.) there came (besides which we find indeed also *xa-ǎla* in Moffat's books as Mark x, 35, &c.) The original initial *i* of this stem is still apparent in the Angola form *iza*, and the Ki-hiáu *issa*. In other verbs the original initial vowel *i* is still more generally found, though in the Kafir language it is now only visible in the alteration of the *a* of prefixes. For example, the Kafir *w-e-bha* he stole, from *u-ku-bha* to steal (but *w-a-ba* he was, from *u-ku-ba* to be) can be easily explained by comparison with the Quellimane infinitive *w-tba* to steal, Mosambique *w-tya*, Cape Delgado *ku-iwa*, the Ki-suáheli and Ki-hiáu imperatives *tba* steal, Ki-pokómo *iwúa*, Ki-níka *ia*, Angola *iya*, Dualla and Isubu *tba*, and with the Mosambique noun *múyi* 1. thief, Cape Delgado *múivi*, Ki-suáheli, Ki-níka and Ki-pokómo *múifi* (pl. *waifi* 2.), Ki-hiáu *múihi*, Kongo *múivi* (*evi* 2.), Mpongwe *ofe* †

326. The last paragraph shows in the Kongo plural form *evi* 2. thieves (whilst Ki-pokómo *wa-ifi* remains

* Whilst the regular form *w-a-za* meaning "then he was," or "then he did" is peculiar to the idiomatic use of this verb, as a sort of auxiliary verb. (Appleyard, § 568.)

† If the Mpongwe verb *dshufa* "steal" and the corresponding Se-tshuána word *utshua* are really identical with the above verb *tba*, then it becomes probable that the original form of this verb was IBUA, or some similar word, the *u* of which has now everywhere been lost except in the Se-tshuána, in which language it has produced the necessary palatalisation of labial consonants, whilst at the same time it has caused the assimilation of the *i* into *u*. The same process of assimilation seems also to have caused the form of the Se-tshuána verb *xo-uǎla* (*go utluu*) "to hear," if we compare it with Kafir *u-ku-va*, Zulu *u-ku-swa* (from which is derived *w-e-va* or *w-e-swa* he heard), Inhambano *ku-púa*, Sofala *ku-swa*, Tette and Sena *ku-bwa*, Quellimane *u-twa*, Mosambique *w-twa*, Maravi *ku-mud*, Ki-kamba *ku-twa*, oTyi-hereró *ku-ǎ'wa* (*ku-swa*), Angola *ku-swa*. The primitive form of this verb is, however, not yet quite clear.

uncontracted) an instance of a coalescence of the initial *i* of the stem with the *a* of the derivative prefix of the noun. This initial vowel of the stem may then also entirely disappear, its former presence being only visible in such cases of coalescence or in kindred dialects. In the latter then sometimes this initial vowel is found to be even preceded by a consonant which has in the other dialects entirely vanished. For example, the Kafir noun *i-zinyo* 5. (Tekeza *tinyo*) "tooth" has as plural either *a-ma-zinyo* 6. (Tekeza *ma-tinyo*) teeth, or with elision of the *z*, the contracted form *a-menyo*. The corresponding Se-tshuana forms are *le-ino* 5. and *meno* 6. The Mosambique dialects have correspondingly, Sofala *zino* 5. and *meno* 6., Tette and Sena *zino* 5. and *mánu* 6., Quellimane *zino* 5. and *ménu* 6., Mosambique *n-ino* 5. *méno* 6.; and the Zangian dialects, Cape Delgado *rinu* 5. and *ménu* 6., Ki-suáheli *dshino* 5. and *meno* 6., Ki-níka *zino* 5. and *meno* 6., Ki-kámbe *to* 5. and *máyo* 6. The Ki-kámbe forms are, with the exception of the accent, almost identical with oTyi-hereró *e-yó* 5. tooth, *o-ma-yó* 6. teeth. Cannecattim gives as the Angola forms *ri-shu* (*richu*) 5. and *má-shu* (*máchu*) 6., and as Kongo plural *ménu* 6. In Mpongwe the corresponding forms are *i-no* 5. tooth, and *a-no* 6. teeth.

327. A similar instance of contraction by which apparent flectional irregularities are produced, is met with in the plural of the South African Bâ-ntu word for "eyes", namely Kafir *a-méxlo* 6. (sng. *i-li-so* 5. an eye), Tekeza *a-ma-x-lo* 6. (sng. *tíxlo* 5.), Se-suto *ma-xlo* 6., Se-xlapi *maíxlo* 6. (*le-íxlo* 5.), Sofala *messu* 6. (*dshisso* 5.), Tette and Sena *maso* 6. (*dziso*, or *diso* 5.), Quellimane *méto* 6. (*ni-to* 5.), Cape Delgado *masho* 6. (*risho* 5.), Ki-suáheli *má-to* 6. (*dshito* 5.), Ki-níka *ma-tso* 6. (*dzítso* 5.), Ki-kamba *medo* 6. (*ido* 5.), oTyi-hereró *o-me-ho* 6. (*e-ho* 5.), Angola *o-me-ssu* 6. (with the singular *rissu* 5. according to Cannecattim who also gives the Kongo form *disu* 5.), Mpongwe *antyo* 6. (*intyo* 5.), Benga *miho* 6. (*dihó* 5.),

Dualla and Isubu *misso* 6. (*disso* 5.) Whilst the forms of the Kafir, Sofala, Makua and Ki-kamba languages and of the Bunda genus have here been produced by a coalescence of the *a* with the initial *i* to *e*,—most other South African languages have allowed the *a* to prevail over the *i*. But in this instance the North-western branch has, before the *i*, suppressed the vowel *a* of the prefix, which has hereby in form become identical with the *mi*-prefix of the fourth class of nouns. An analogy to this case is found in the Se-tshuāna plural *mīxlua* thorns (Se-suto *meuxlua*, Mosambique *miwa*), if we compare it with the corresponding Kafir word *a-meva* 6. (eng. *i-li-va* 5. a thorn). But this Se-tshuāna word *mīxlua* has not only in form, but now also in use been transferred to the fourth class of nouns, and is found constructed with pronouns and adjectives of this fourth class.

328. In Kafir the *a* of prefixed particles coalesces as a general rule with the initial vowel of the derivative prefixes of nouns (which vowel forms really a sort of prefixed article,) and in this manner:

a with *a* coalesces to *a*

a „ *i* „ *e*

a „ *u* „ *o*

In other South African Bantu languages (few of which have retained any traces of this old article,) these cases of coalescence have not yet been observed.

4. PHONETIC INFLUENCE OF THE PREFIXES UPON THE STEM.

329. With regard to the beginning of the stem of a word, it is to be remarked that it is, in the course of inflection, usually much less affected by the prefixes, than the end of the stem by the suffixes.

a. INITIAL VOWELS.

330. Regarding stems beginning with vowels, it is indeed true that a contraction of the later with a pre-

ceding vowel, or even their entire elision, is a circumstance of so very general occurrence, that in many instances such an initial vowel is only in very rare cases visible, or has indeed in many languages been entirely lost,—its former existence being recognised merely by comparison of kindred dialects or languages.

b. NASAL PREFIXES.

331. But if the first letter of the stem is a consonant, it generally remains immutable, except when it comes in immediate contact with a preceding consonant. As this, however, according to the phonetic principles of the Bâ-ntu languages (§ 253), can only be a nasal, it is but in cases where the prefix either ends in, or consists entirely of, a nasal, that such initial changes of the stems of words are generally visible.

aa. Nasal Prefixes in Kafir.

332. In the Kafir species such a nasal occurs purely only in the derivative prefix of the 9th (*N-*) and 10th (*Zin-*) classes of nouns and adjectives, and impurely in the derivative prefixes of the 1st (*M-* personal) and 3rd (*M-* impersonal) classes of nouns and adjectives, and in the objective pronouns of the 1st (*M-* personal) class.

333. In the latter cases the stem remains, in the Kafir species, always unaltered, and in the first case (of pure nasalisation) the only alteration which takes place, occurs in the stronger pronunciation of a few consonants, when as initials of the stem they are preceded by the nasal. (§ 77, 170, and 216).

334. In this manner in the Kafir language

initial *s* after prefixed nasal becomes *ts*

„ <i>sh</i> „	„ „ „	„ <i>ts</i> h
„ <i>ʃl</i> (<i>hl</i>) „	„ „ „	„ <i>ʃl</i> (<i>hl</i>)
„ <i>l</i> (<i>c</i>) „	„ „ „	„ <i>l</i> (<i>gc</i>)
„ <i>ll</i> (<i>x</i>) „	„ „ „	„ <i>ll</i> (<i>gx</i>)
„ <i>l</i> (<i>q</i>) „	„ „ „	„ <i>l</i> (<i>gq</i>)

bb. Nasal Prefixes in Se-tshuâna and Tekeza.

335. In Se-tshuâna this stronger explosive pronunciation of consonants after pure nasalisation is of far more general extent, and takes place, not only where the nasal is still visible, as in the derivative prefixes of a few nouns of the 9th (*N-*) and 10th (*Lin-*) classes, and (before active verbs) in the objective prefix of the first person singular 'n- or 'm-, but also where it has now vanished, leaving as trace of its former presence an increase of the explosive force of the initial consonant. This disappearance of the nasal, combined with retention of the commutation of the initial of the stem effected by it, is met with in most of the nouns and adjectives of the 9th (*N-*) and 10th (*Lin-*) classes, and in the reflective verbs, which are formed at present by the prefix *i-*. That the latter has the influence of commuting the following initial consonant (if changeable) in the same manner as if a nasal preceded it, or had been suppressed, renders it probable that really this prefix once contained a nasal, though none at present is visible here, either in Se-tshuâna, or in any of the kindred Bâ-ntu languages known to us.

336. Including, therefore, the latter case in this our rule, we may say that in the Western Se-tshuâna initial *κ** after prefixed or suppressed nasal becomes *k*

„ <i>χ(g)</i>	„	„	„	„ <i>kχ(kh)</i>
„ <i>h</i>	„	„	„	„ <i>kχ(kh)</i> or <i>ph</i>
„ <i>b</i>	„	„	„	„ <i>p</i>
„ <i>l</i>	„	„	„	„ <i>t</i>
„ <i>r</i> (before sharp vowels)	„	„	„	„ <i>t</i>
„ <i>r</i> (before flat vowels)	„	„	„	„ <i>th</i>
„ <i>s</i>	„	„	„	„ <i>ts</i>
„ <i>sh</i>	„	„	„	„ <i>tsh</i> (<i>c</i> , or <i>ch</i>)

The harder consonants *k*, *kχ(kh)*, *p*, *t*, *th*, *ts* and also *χl* (*tl*), *m*, *n*, *ny*, being of course incapable of any further

* The Hebrew Aleph serves us to indicate the "spiritus lenis."

hardening, remain unaltered after a nasal sound; and cannot, therefore, by themselves afford any indication of the former presence of nasalisation of the stems which begin with them.

337. If we compare with the preceding table that of the correspondence of Kafir nasalised to Se-tshuâna unnasalised consonants (§ 219), the origin of most of the above changes becomes clear, particularly if we bear in mind that Se-tshuâna *l* and *r* are frequently descended from *d*, and likewise *r* from *t*, as still preserved in the corresponding Kafir words (§ 162, 165), that Se-tshuâna *k* is derived from Kafir *p* and *f* (§ 124), and *χ* (*g*) corresponds to Kafir *k* (§ 87 and 134).

338. Whilst in this manner the initial of the stem is in the Se-tshuâna strengthened through the influence of a preceding nasal (even when the latter has now entirely disappeared),—in the Tekeza, on the contrary, a prefixed nasal has a tendency to make away with the beginning consonant of the stem, before which it stands. The changes hereby produced are, however, of such a nature that they can only be explained by comparison with the more primitive Kafir forms. For example, *mararo*, as numeral adjective of the 6th (*Ma*-) and *tinaro* of the 10th class (*Tin*-) class, both meaning “three,” correspond to Kafir *amatatu* 6. and *ezintatu* 10. (three); and the rule deducible from this comparison is that in Delagoa Bay the initial *r* of a stem is suppressed after a nasal preceding it (§ 221).

339. In the case of an initial *k*, the disappearance of this consonant is, in the Tekeza, accompanied by that of the preceding nasal, and thus the “spiritus lenis” of the Tekeza corresponds here to Kafir *nk* (§ 221). For example, *e-ulo* (great) 9. is the Kafir *e-n-kulu* 9., Se-tshuâna *e-kholu* (*e kholu*) from the stem *-kulo*, Kafir *-kulu*, Se-tshuâna *-xolu* (*-golu*).

340. As the Kafir *p* also disappears in the Tekeza, and Kafir *mp* in Tekeza becomes *m*, such words, in which an

original initial *p* was nasalised, appear in the Tekeza as if the initial *ɲ* required by itself the labial nasal before it, whilst the labial quality of this nasal is, of course, only due to the omitted labial explosive. For example, *liondo* is the Lourenzo Marques word for Kafir and Zulu *xpondo* 11. (horn). We do not know the exact plural of the word in this dialect; but in another Northern Tekeza dialect, we find *timondo ta teomo* 10. for Kafir *impondo zenkomo* (ZI-ZIM-PONDO ZI-A-ZI-ZIN-KOMO) the horns of the cattle.

341. No other cases of pure nasalisation of the initial consonant have been observed (in the few specimens of the Tekeza language as yet collected) besides those of the prefixes of nouns (and adjectives) of the 9th (*N-*) and 10th (*Tin-*) classes. It is, however, not improbable that these are the only instances existing in this language.

342. Although the Tekeza and Se-tshuâna avoid even the appearance of an impure indiscriminate labial nasalisation by retaining the vowel of the derivative prefix (of the nouns and adjectives) or objective pronoun, the disappearance of which gives rise to this feature of the Kafir language (§ 217 and 218),—yet each of the two former languages has, before one particular initial consonant of the stem, not only omitted the vowel of this prefix (*mo-* of the Se-tshuâna, *mu-* of the Tekeza and Zulu), but also the initial consonant of the stem.

343. In Se-tshuâna this omission takes place when the prefix of the 1st and 3rd classes comes to stand before an initial *b* (§ 113), and in Tekeza before an initial *l*. In the latter case also the *m-* of the prefix undergoes a change, being converted into the dental nasal *ɲ-*. Thus in Lourenzo Marques,

ʼnanda 1. slave, follower (MULANDA) is derived from *e-ho-landa* 15. (Kafir *uku-landa*) to follow;

nomo 3. mouth (Kafir *umlomo*, Se-tshuâna *molomo*) from *e-ho-luma* 15. (Kafir *u-lu-luma*, Se-tshuâna *xe-loma*) to bite;

nambo 3. river (Kafir *umlambo*, Se-tshuāna *molapo*);
nege 3. leg (Kafir *umlenze*), plur. *milenge* 4. legs (Kafir
imilenze);

a-noi 1. sorcerer, (Sofala *muroi*, Se-tshuāna *moloi*, from
Xo-loa, 15. to bewitch).

344. This *n-* seems, however, not to have immediately descended from MUL-, or ML-, but the liquid *l* seems in the first instance to have been commuted into the dental explosive *d* which then disappeared after having effected the commutation of the labial *m-* before it, into the dental nasal *n-*. The intermediate stage of *nd* is even preserved in the Lourenzo Marques word *a-ndolo-ene* in the fire (Kafir *e-m-lilw-eni*, from *u-m-lilo* fire, Se-tshuāna *mu-lelo*, Southern Tekeza *unilo*), the first *o* of which is evidently due to the principle of assimilation of vowels (*vide* §§ 270 and 271). In fact the Matonga dialect supplies, as an intermediate link, the form *undilo* fire.

cc. Nasal Prefixes in the Middle Branch.

345. Contractions of these labial nasal prefixes of nouns of the 1st and 2nd classes with the initial of the stem, occur indeed also in the Middle Branch languages, but no certain rules on this head can as yet be laid down.

346. With regard to the pure nasalisation by means of a prefix of the 9th and 10th classes of nouns and adjectives, it is to be remarked that, where in the languages of the Middle Branch, the nasalisation is here not altogether thrown off, it has a similar tendency as in the Tekeza, viz., of softening the initial of the stem, without, however, (as in that South-eastern species) entirely suppressing it.

347. This is connected with the tendency which this Branch (excepting always the Kongo genus) has for the combination of a media explosive with a preceding nasal (§ 225), whereby generally not only tenues, but also fricative and liquid consonants, are after pure nasalisation changed into mediæ.

348. Thus we find in Kikamba *ukú* 11. firewood (Kafir and Kianúheli *ukúni*, Western Se-tshuana *loxon*, Mpongwe

okoni) with the plural *nig* 10. (Kafir *inkuni*, Kisuáheli *kúni*, Southern Tekeza *tuni* [i.e. TIN-KUNI], Western Se-tshuana *likxon*, o'Tyi-hereró *ongune*.)

349. In this language (the Kikámba), an initial *ts* disappears even altogether, after nasalisation, as

utsiégi 11. straw, plural *niegi* 10.;

utsigi 11. mule, plural *nigi* 10.

350. The same is the case, in at least one noun in Kinika: *lutsérre* 11. hair (Kafir *unwele*, Zulu *unweli*, Kisuaheli *unuelle*), plur. *niérre* 10. (Kafir *innwele*, Zulu *izinnwele*, Kisuáheli *nuelle*).

351. In Kisuáheli we have instances of a change of a liquid consonant, and also of a labial spirant (or semi-vowel? vide § 144) into the corresponding media; for example, *ulimi* 11. tongue (Kafir *ulwimi*, Seǻlapi *toleme** Sofala *rurimi*, Kihiau *lulimi*, Cape Delgado *lurimi*, Kinika *urimi*, Kikamba *uimi*, Kipokómo *dshuimi*, Kongo *ludimi*, Mpongwe *oleme*) has as plural *ndimi* 10. (Kafir *izilwimi*, Seǻlapi *liteme*); *uwingo* 11. heaven, plur. *mbingo* 10.

352. In o'Tyi-hereró the commutation of the initial of the stem of nouns after the nasal of these prefixes into a media is most general. In this manner:

k y ty p v ǻ' t r become

ng ng ndy ndy mb mb ndǻ' nd nd, which changes are in their tendency almost exactly opposite to those observable in the Se-tshuána under the same circumstances (§ 335 and 336.)

353. By nasalisation the liquid *l* becomes indeed *d* in the Angola language, but then the nasal before it is dropped. This disappearance of the prefixed nasal seems

* The Se-suto which, by commuting the *lo-* prefix of the 11th class into *le-*, has combined the 11th with the 5th (*Le-*) class of nouns, shows here of course the form *leleme* 5. tongue. Also in other South African Bá-ntu languages, this noun seems to belong to the 5th class, as in Lourenço Marques *redime*, Inhambane and Quellimane *lilime*, Mosambique *inlimi*, Sena and Tette *ririmi*, Maravi *lerime*, Angola *ririmi*. The Dualla form *eyemi* (tongue), however, seems to belong to the 7th class, plur. *beyemi* 8. (tongues.)

also to take place before *tenués*, which here are not converted into *medias*; nor is this the case with the *fricatives*. But the *fricative media* retains the nasal of the prefix before it. For example,

- nvunda* 9. quarrel (*oTyi-hereró ombunda*), plur. (*dshinvunda* 10. (*oTyi-hereró oš'ombunda*);
nvula 9. rain (*Kafir invula, oTyi-hereró ombura*, §118);
fuba 9. flour, (*Kafir impupu*, §116), plur. (*dshifuba* 10.;
pango 9. plan, design (*oTyi-hereró ombango* will, intention,) plur. (*dshipango* 10.

dd. Nasal Prefixes in the Kongo Genus.

354. In the Kongo language we find, as a case of change of *l* into *d* after the prefixes of the nouns of the 9th and 10th classes, the word *ndongi* 9. and 10. teacher (*Angola dongishi*) from *longa* (teach, *oTyi-hereró ronga*), from which also the *Angola* words *mulongi* 1. teacher, and *mulonga* 3. doctrine, plur. *milonga* 4. are derived.

355. But the Kongo Genus is particularly distinguished by certain changes of the initial consonants of the verbs. These changes are, in the Kongo language, restricted to the case when the prefix pronoun of the first person singular (subjective or objective) which is here abbreviated to *n-* or *m-* (from *ngi-*, as still preserved in the *Zulu* and *Bunda*) comes to be placed immediately before the stem of verbs commencing with *l* and *bh*. These initial letters are under such circumstances converted respectively into *d* and *p* or *ph*. For example, we find:

- ku-lakama* 15. to persecute, *n-dakama* (I.s.) persecute me, *n-dakamini* I.s. I persecute or have persecuted;
ku-bhinga 15. to pray, *n-pingiri* I.s. I have prayed;
ku-bhingila 15. to pray for, *n-m-pingila* 1. (I.s.) he prays for me;
ku-bhobha 15. to speak, *n-pobhele* I.s. I have spoken;
ku-bhobhesiana 15. to speak with one another, *n-pobhesanini* I.s. I have spoken together with;

ku-bhobhabhobha 15. to be talkative, *n-pobhabhobhele* I.s. I have been talkative ;

ku-bhanga 15. to make, *n-pangiri* I.s. I have made, but *a-bhangiri* 2. they have made.

356. It is to be remarked that an initial *r* remains unaltered after this nasal, at least in the one case which came under observation, *ku-ria* 15., perfect *n-riri* I.s., pass. *ku-riua* 15., perfect pass. *arila* I.s. This word occurs in the idiom *kuria mukuri* esse dominum mortis, and *kuriua mukuri* esse captivum mortis. It means probably "eat" corresponding to the Kafir *kla* (*dhla*) and *tya*, Se-tshuâna *ya*, Lourenzo Marques, Sena, Tette, Maravi, Mudshau *dia*, Sofala, Cape Delgado, Kibiâu, Kinika, o'lyi-hereró, Angola *ria*, Quellimane *dsha*, Mosambique, Benguela, Kakongo *lia*, Anjuane and Isubu *la*, Mpongwe *nya* or *nye*, Dualla *da*.

357. In the contraction of the objective prefix of the first person singular to *n-* and *m-*, and the hereby caused affection of the initial of the stem, the Kongo agrees with the Se-tshuâna (§ 335 and 336). But whilst in the latter language a total distinction between the objective and subjective forms of this personal prefix has been effected by assigning to the form *ki-* (also descended from Kafir *ngi-*) the latter (subjective) meaning,—in the Kongo language, on the contrary, the form with the mere nasal is used with both, subjective and objective meanings. There is, however, also another abbreviation from NGI, namely *i* or *y*, used in Kongo as subjective verbal prefix of the first person.

358. Of the Loango or Kakongo verbs we read that verbs commencing with *l* and *v* change these letters in certain tenses respectively into *d* and *p*. Whether this takes place only in the first person singular, as in Kongo, or whether it agrees more with the Mpongwe practice, I am, from want of examples, unable 'o say. I am, however, more inclined to the latter opinion.

359. The modernised state of the Mpongwe language has given rise to numerous contractions and abbreviations, and in this manner new instances have arisen in which the prefixes press immediately upon the beginning of the stem of nouns or verbs, and either are amalgamated with it (whereby they are not unfrequently entirely lost in it), or the initial consonant of the stem is affected by them.

360. For example, by elision of the end vowel of the prefix *ma-* or *a-ma-* of Mpongwe nouns and adjectives of the 6th class, the labial nasal (*m-*) comes to stand immediately before the initial of the stem, and when this is a *v*, this fricative labial is converted after this *m* into a corresponding explosive, either *p* or *b*, as *i-vava* 5. wing, plur. *a-m-pava* 6. (Lourenzo Marques *li-papa* 5., Inhambane *ma-papi* 6., Sena and Tette *papidwe* 5. plur. *ma-pupidwe* 6., Quellimane *papiko* 5., Kafir *i-piko* 5. plur. *ma-piko* 6.), with which one may also compare Kafir *u-pape* 11. quill, feather, plur. *i-m-pape* 10. (Mombas Suáheli *u-báwa* 11. plur. *m-bawa* 10., Cape Delgado *lw-awa* 11. plur. *báwa* 10.)

361. The same is the case in Mpongwe (at least in adjectives) not only (as in Kafir) with the prefixes of the 1st (*Mo-* personal) and 3rd (*Mo-* impersonal) classes, but also with that of the 4th (*Mi-*) class. When these Mpongwe prefixes preserve their nasal, they lose the vowel following it, and bring, therefore, the nasal into immediate contact with the initial of the stem. The latter, when a *v*, is then after them, as also after the prefixes of the 9th (*N-*) and 10th (*Sin-*) classes (which show of course here also a labial nasal, as *m-* 9. and *sim-* 10.), changed either into *p* or *b*. For example, the Mpongwe adjective "large" sounds in the 2nd class *a-volu*, in the 5th *i-volu*, in the 7th *e-volu*, and in the 8th *volu*; but in the 1st and 3rd classes *o-m-polu*, in the 4th *i-m-polu*, in the 9th *m-polu*, and in the 10th *i-m-polu* or *sim-polu*. In the same manner "bad" is in Mpongwe *o-m-be* 1., *a-ve* 2., *o-m-be* 3., *i-m-be* 4., *i-ve* 5., *a-m-be* 6., *e-ve* 7., *ve* 8., *m-be* 9., *i-m-be* or *sim-be*

10. (Kafir *o-mu-bi* 1., *a-ba-bi* 2., *o-mu-bi* 3., *e-mi-bi* 4., *e-li-bi* 5., *a-ma-bi* 6., *e-si-bi* 7., *e-zi-bi* 8., *e-m-bi* 9., *e-zim-bi* 10., &c.) And "two" in Mpongwe: *a-vani* 2., *i-m-bani* 4., *a-m-bani* 6., *vani* 8., *m-bani* 10., (Kafir *a-ba-bini* 2., *e-mi-bini* 4., *a-ma-bini* 6., *e-zi-bini* 8., *e-zim-bini* 10.); the Mpongwe, together with most other Western Bâ-ntu languages, being here probably more original as far as concerns the preservation of the first vowel of the stem, which has been assimilated to the second in Kafir and other Eastern languages, whilst both the Kafir proper and the Mpongwe have substituted a nasal for the primary liquid of Zulu *-bili*, Sc-tshuâna *-beri*, Lourenzo Marques *-bire*, &c., &c. The ground form of the stem of this numeral is evidently BALI.

362. It is, however, only after the original nasal prefixes of the 9th (*N-*) and 10th (*Sin-*) classes that in Mpongwe *l* becomes *d*, and *r* and *t* become *ty*. For example, "long" is in Mpongwe *o-la* 1., *a-la* 2., *o-la* 3., *i-la* 4., *i-la* 5., *a-la* 6., *e-la* 7., *la* 8., *n-da* 9., *i-n-da* 10. (Kafir *o-m-de* 1., *a-ba-de* 2., *o-m-de* 3., *e-mi-de* 4., *e-li-de* 5., *a-ma-de* 6., *i-si-de* 7., *e-zi-de* 8., *e-n-de* 9., *e-zin-de* 10.).

363. In case of the *r* and *t* being changed into *ty*, the original nasal, on account of which this change took place, is now lost in Mpongwe; for example, in the third numeral *a-raro* 2., *i-raro* 4., *a-raro* 6., *raro* 8., *tyaro* 10. (Kafir *a-ba-tatu* 2. *i-mi-tatu* 4., *a-ma-tatu* 6., *e-zi-tatu* 8., *e-zin-tatu* 10.), and in the fifth *a-tani* 2., *i-tani* 4., *a-tani* 6., *tani* 8., *tyani* 10. (Kafir *a-ba-ǵlanu* 2., *i-mi-ǵlanu* 4., *a-ma-ǵlanu* 6., *e-zi-ǵlanu* 8., *e-zin-ǵlanu* 10.).

364. We see that it may in general be said that the more original form of the initial has, in Mpongwe, been preserved after the nasal, or in such forms which began formerly with a nasal, whilst the unnasalised forms are generally softened or liquidised.

C. INITIAL INFLECTION IN MPONGWE.

365. But the most remarkable change of letters in Mpongwe is that affecting the initial consonant of almost

all the verbs. They begin in the imperative and in one historical tense, with a soft or liquid letter, which is in all other moods and tenses and even in the negative of the above mentioned historical tense, commuted into a harder or more explosive consonant. Thus

g r l v w y zu z become

k t d p, or f f, or b dsh (j) sh s
and only the nasals *m* and *n* remain unaltered.

366. In the Mpongwe Grammar this is described as a change from the harder to the softer consonant, and according to its real origin the harder sound was probably more original with most beginnings than the softer. But for the grammatical and lexical purposes of the Mpongwe language, the form with the soft initial is to be considered as the ground form; for, from it most derivations take place. For example, from *gamba* speak, infinitive *go-kamba* (Bunda *o-ku-amba*), comes *gambagamba* speak at random, infinitive *go-kambagamba*, and also *i-gamba* 5. word, pl *a-gamba* 6. (perhaps Kafir *i-gama* 5. name, plur. *a-ma-gama* 6.);

from *roma* send (Kongo, Bunda, Kisuáheli, Kikámbe, Tette, Sena, Sofala and Kafir *tuma*, Kinika *huma*, Mosambique *ruma*, Se-tshuána *roma*), infinitive *go-toma* to send, comes *eromi* 7. messenger;

from *lingilia* mark, infinitive *go-dingiliu*, comes *e-lingilio* 7. mark;

from *genda* go, walk (Kongo and Kafir *enda*), infinitive *go-kenda*, comes *o-genda* 1. visitor, stranger, &c., &c.

367. Regarding the origin of this change of initials, it seems probable that in its tendency for shortening the pronunciation, the Mpongwe pressed all such prefixes of the verbs (be they subjective or objective pronouns, or verbal particles) which consisted only of a nasal or of a short vowel, with or without preceding consonant, hard towards the beginning of the stem, thereby either raising the explosive character of the initial consonant of the

verb, or retaining its primitive harder pronunciation, which otherwise where this pressure did not take place, has generally been softened down. The softer pronunciation has thus been attached to the imperative form which is generally destitute of prefixes, and after the open *a-* of the historical tense and of the optative *ga-* and *a-* (first person of the imperative, and negative imperative). By the strong tendency to contraction which makes the Mpongwe quite a modern language, the original verbal prefixes have mostly been suppressed before the harder form of the initial; and with their disappearance, the reason for this hardening of the initial has also disappeared. This harder pronunciation must then have been so frequent in certain tenses and moods, that from a mere phonetic process it has become quite a characteristic of these tenses and moods; and so it came to pass that, also with such verbs, which had originally the harder initial, the change into the softer was by analogy enforced for those tenses and moods, which in the other verbs claimed a softer consonant.

368. This explanation is of course partly hypothetical; and it is very possible that a stricter investigation of the Mpongwe language, and a comparison with those dialects and languages which are most nearly related to it,—as, for example, those of Kakongo and Loango,—will enable us to understand more clearly and with greater certainty the development of the verbal formations in Mpongwe.

VII. INTONATION AND ACCENTUATION.

1. INTONATION.

369. A striking feature of the Mpongwe is also the use which has been made of the different modes of intonation for the distinction of the negative form. Probably this was originally indicated by one or more prefixed particles, and a prefixed *n-* is still used for the indication of the negative of the past tenses, and an *a-* in the imperative.

But even in these cases the intonation or prolongation of the penultimate seems to be more characteristic of the negative form than those prefixed letters.

370. We have evidently here again to do with a case, in which what was at first an external distinction has been commuted into an internal inflection,—that form which was originally longer, in its present contraction being distinguished by this intonation or prolongation from an originally shorter form, with which the former had otherwise, in its phonetic elements, become identical.

371. The exact nature of this intonation is not quite clear; it seems, however, that it consists rather in a prolongation of the accented syllable than in anything else; so that *mi kám̃ba* means “I speak,” and *mi kám̃ba* “I do not speak.” In Mpongwe books the latter is indicated by an italic letter for the distinguishing vowel, as “*mi kamba*,” or “*mi kamba*.”

372. Such cases of intonation used for the distinction of homophonous words occur also in other Bâ-ntu languages,—for example, in Kafir and Zulu. Thus Kafir *intúnga* 9. is “the house of the second wife,” &c., and *intánga* 9. “seed of pumpkin,” *úmkómbe* 3. rhinoceros, and *umkómbe* 3. ship. (Appleyard § 68, Colenso § 28.)

373. The Hottentot language seems, however, to avail itself much more extensively of the difference of intonation for the distinction of different words, the sounds of which are otherwise the same. Wuras distinguishes in this manner three keys (as he calls them), in which words which have otherwise the same sound may be spoken. (*Vide* Sir G. Grey's Library, Vol. I. p. 20).

2. ACCENT.

374. On what principles the accentuation in the Hottentot Language may be based, is not clear to me.

375. In the Bâ-ntu languages the accent lies, most generally, on the penultimate—(may this form a part of the stem of the word, or be merely an inflectional syl-

lable)—and it is shifted with a terminal increase of a word. For example, in Kafir *imvu* is "a sheep," *imvāna* "a lamb," *imvukāzi* "an ewe," *imvukazāna* "a little ewe," &c.; *u-ku-bōna* "to see," *u-ku-bonahaliēla* "to manifest to," &c., &c.

376. Of the Eastern Middle Branch languages, the Kikamba forms an exception by throwing the accent as close as possible to the beginning of the word, whilst its nearest neighbours, the Kinika and Kisuaheli, agree, as regards accentuation, with the Kafir.

377. Of the Western Middle Branch languages, the oTyi-hereró, for certain, has the accent generally on the last syllable of the word, although there are also a large number of oTyi-hereró words which have the accent on the penultimate.

378. How the shifting of the accent affects the structure of the language, and influences the phonetic formation of the words, is still to be ascertained.

VIII. DIALECTICAL TRANSITIONS OF CONSONANTS.

379. The comparative study of the Hottentot dialects has not yet been carried to such an extent as to enable us to state what changes of sound take place between them; and still less is this the case with regard to the relations obtaining between the Hottentot and the kindred Sexdenoting languages. Yet, we may state that in the flexional or grammatical parts of speech, a Nama-Hottentot *t* (before *i* or *e*) is liable to be converted into *r* in the /Kora and Cape dialects, and that an ancient *t* has in Hottentot an inclination to be converted into the sibilant *s*.

380. The transitions of consonants in the various Bā-ntu languages are so multifarious that it is impossible

to note them all here. I give, however, a few tables of changes obtaining between the Kafir and other languages of the South African Division. It need not be remarked that the Kafir by no means always exhibits a more original form of consonant, but not rarely a more modern one, effected by palatalisation or other phonetic influences. For example, a *k* before *i* is palatalised, in most Bantu languages, to *tyi* or *tshi*; and this palatal sound has, in Kafir, sunk down to the mere sibilant *s*. On the other hand, the Kafir *l* is, in perhaps the greater number of kindred South African languages, changed into *r*; in a few it is commuted into *n* (as in Makua and Mpongwe), or into *y* (as in the Tefula dialect of the Zulu language), and in others, it has entirely disappeared.

381. The changes of sound obtaining between the different species of the South Eastern Branch have been at first noted at p. 40 of Sir G. Grey's Library, Vol. I., and are given here with a slightly altered arrangement:

KAFIR.	TEKÉZA.	SE-TSHUÂNÁ.
(Kafir and Zulu.)	(Lourenzo Marquês.)	(Se-Xlapi and Se-suto.)
The <i>k</i> corresponds to		
	<i>k</i>	and to
„ <i>nk</i>	„ <i>ŋ</i> or <i>h</i>	„ „ <i>χ</i> or <i>h'</i> (<i>g</i>)
„ <i>ng</i>	„ <i>ŋg</i>	„ „ <i>kχ</i> or <i>kh'</i> (<i>kh</i>)
„ <i>t</i>	„ <i>r</i>	„ „ <i>r</i>
„ <i>nt</i>	„ <i>n</i>	„ „ <i>th</i>
„ <i>d</i>	„ <i>l</i>	„ „ <i>l</i>
„ <i>nd</i>	„ <i>nd</i>	„ „ <i>t</i>
„ <i>p</i>	„ <i>ŋ</i> or <i>h</i>	„ „ <i>f</i> or <i>h</i>
„ <i>p</i>	„ <i>bz</i>	„ „ <i>p</i>
„ <i>mp</i>	„ <i>m</i>	„ „ <i>ph</i>
„ <i>b</i>	„ <i>b</i> or <i>v</i>	„ „ <i>b</i>
„ <i>mb</i>	„ <i>mb</i>	„ „ <i>p</i>
„ <i>mb-</i>	„ <i>mb-</i>	„ „ <i>m-</i>
„ <i>f</i>	„ <i>f</i>	„ „ <i>f</i> or <i>h</i>
„ <i>v</i>	„ <i>f</i>	„ „ <i>b</i> or <i>r</i>
„ <i>v</i>	„ <i>f</i>	„ „ <i>h</i> or <i>tsh</i> (<i>ch</i>)

KAFIR.	TEKÉZA.	SE-TSHUANA.
(Kafir and Zulu.)	(Lourenço Marques.)	(Se-Xhapi and Se-suto.)

The <i>m</i> corresponds to		<i>mf</i>	and to	<i>p</i>
„ <i>s</i>	„	„ <i>s</i>	„	„ <i>s</i>
„ <i>s</i>	„	„ <i>tsh</i>	„	„ <i>ts</i>
„ <i>z</i>	„	„ <i>t</i>	„	„ <i>ts</i> or <i>xl</i> (<i>tl</i>)
„ <i>zi</i>	„	„ <i>te</i>	„	„ <i>li</i> or <i>ri</i>
„ <i>nz</i>	„	„ <i>t</i>	„	„ <i>ts</i>
„ <i>nz</i>	„	„ <i>mf</i>	„	„ <i>p</i>
„ <i>sh</i>	„	„ <i>k</i>	„	„ <i>sh</i>
„ <i>ty</i>	„	„ <i>bdsh</i>	„	„ <i>y</i>
„ <i>l</i>	„	„ <i>l</i>	„	„ <i>l</i>
„ <i>li</i>	„	„ <i>li</i> or <i>dri</i>	„	„ <i>le</i>
„ <i>ml-</i>	„	„ <i>n-</i>	„	„ <i>mol-</i>
„ <i>n</i>	„	„ <i>n</i> or <i>ny</i>	„	„ <i>n</i>
„ <i>ny</i>	„	„ <i>ny</i>	„	„ <i>n</i>
„ <i>-ni</i>	„	„ <i>-ne</i>	„	„ <i>-i</i> (<i>n</i> or <i>ng</i>)
„ <i>m</i>	„	„ <i>m</i>	„	„ <i>m</i>

382. Comparing the Eastern portion of the Middle Branch, we have observed in the Moosambique Genus mainly the following changes :

KAFIR.	TETTE AND SENA.		MAKUA.
The <i>k</i> corresponds to		<i>k</i>	and to <i>y</i>
„ <i>kh</i>	„	„ <i>ng</i>	„ „ <i>k</i> or <i>g</i>
„ <i>ng</i>	„	„ <i>ng</i>	„ „ <i>ng</i>
„ <i>t</i>	„	„ <i>t</i>	„ „ <i>r</i>
„ <i>nt</i>	„	„ <i>ntt</i>	„ „ <i>tt</i>
„ <i>d</i>	„	„ <i>t</i>	„ „
„ <i>p</i>	„	„ <i>p</i>	„ „ <i>v</i>
„ <i>mp</i>	„	„ <i>p</i>	„ „ <i>p</i>
„ <i>b</i>	„	„ <i>k</i>	„ „ <i>k</i>
		„ <i>mb</i>	„ „ <i>p</i>
„ <i>f</i>	„	„ <i>p</i>	„ „ <i>v</i>
„ <i>f</i>	„	„ <i>v</i>	„ „ <i>l</i> or <i>r</i>
„ <i>fu</i>	„	„ <i>fu</i>	„ „ <i>ku</i> or <i>tu</i>

KAFIR.	TETTE AND SENA.	MAKUA.
The <i>fx</i> corresponds to <i>ku</i> and to <i>u</i>		
„ <i>xl (hl)</i> or <i>s</i>	„ <i>s</i>	„ „ <i>t</i>
„ <i>s</i>	„ <i>s</i>	„ „ <i>h</i> or <i>h</i>
„ <i>x</i>	„ <i>dz (ʔ)</i>	„ „ <i>d</i> or <i>r</i>
„ <i>l</i>	„ <i>r</i>	„ „ <i>l</i>
„ <i>li</i>	„ <i>ri</i>	„ „ <i>ni</i>

383. In the Zangian Genus the following transitions have been observed:

KAFIR.	KI-SUAHILI. (Mombas.)	KI-NIKA. (Nabhal.)
The <i>k</i> corresponds to <i>k</i> and to <i>k</i>		
„ <i>k</i>	„ <i>g</i>	„ „ <i>g</i>
„ <i>nk</i>	„ <i>ng</i>	„ „ <i>ng</i>
„ <i>ng</i>	„ <i>ng</i>	„ „ <i>ng</i>
„ <i>t</i>	„ <i>t</i>	„ „ <i>h</i>
„ <i>nt</i>	„ <i>t</i>	„ „ <i>t</i>
„ <i>nd</i>	„ <i>nd</i>	„ „ <i>nd</i>
„ „	„ <i>nd</i>	„ „ <i>t</i>
„ <i>nxl (ndhl)</i>	„ <i>nd</i>	„ „ <i>ns, nts (nz)</i>
„ <i>xl (hl)</i>	„ <i>t</i>	„ „ <i>ts (z)</i>
„ <i>p</i>	„ <i>p</i>	„ „ <i>h</i> or <i>v</i>
„ <i>b</i>	„ <i>w</i>	„ „ <i>h</i>
„ <i>bu</i>	„ <i>ba</i>	„ „ <i>ba</i>
„ <i>mb</i>	„ <i>mb</i>	„ „ <i>mb</i>
„ <i>f</i>	„ <i>f</i>	„ „ <i>f</i>
„ <i>v</i>	„ <i>f</i>	„ „ <i>f</i>
„ <i>s</i>	„ <i>s (ss)</i>	„ „ <i>s (ss)</i>
„ <i>si</i>	„ <i>ki</i>	„ „ <i>dshi</i>
„ <i>ns</i>	„ <i>nt</i>	„ „ <i>ts (z)</i>
„ <i>x</i>	„ <i>dsh</i>	„ „ <i>ts (z)</i>
„ <i>x</i>	„ <i>x (ʔs)</i>	„ „ <i>x (ʔs)</i>
„ <i>nz</i>	„ <i>dy</i>	„ „ <i>ts</i>
„ <i>l</i>	„ <i>l or ll</i>	„ „ <i>r or rr</i>
„ <i>la</i>	„ <i>la</i>	„ „ <i>la</i>
„ <i>l</i>	„ <i>h</i>	„ „ <i>l</i>
„ <i>n</i>	„ <i>n</i>	„ „ <i>n</i>
„ <i>m</i>	„ <i>m</i>	„ „ <i>m</i>

384. The transitions of consonants observed, in the South-Western or Bunda Genus are as follows :

KAFIR.		OTYI-HERERO. (Damara Language.)		ANGOLA. (Bunda Language.)	
The <i>k</i> corresponds to		<i>k</i>	and to	<i>k</i>	
„ <i>nk</i>	„	„ <i>ng</i>	„	„ <i>ng</i>	
„ <i>ng</i>	„	„ <i>ng</i>	„	„ <i>ng</i>	
„ <i>t</i>	„	„ <i>t</i> or <i>s</i>	„	„ <i>t</i>	
„ <i>ti</i>	„	„ <i>ti</i>	„	„ <i>tshi</i> (<i>chs</i>)	
„ <i>nt</i>	„	„ <i>nd</i>	„	„ <i>t</i>	
„ <i>d</i> (?)	„	„ <i>t</i>	„	„ <i>nd</i> or <i>l</i>	
„ <i>nd</i>	„	„ <i>nd</i>	„	„ <i>nd</i>	
„ <i>p</i>	„	„ <i>p</i>	„	„ <i>b</i>	
„ <i>b</i>	„	„ <i>p</i>	„	„ <i>b</i>	
„ <i>b</i>	„	„ <i>v</i>	„	„ <i>κ</i>	
„ <i>mb</i>	„	„ <i>mb</i>	„	„ <i>mb</i>	
„ <i>f</i>	„	„ <i>ʒ</i> (<i>s</i>)	„	„ <i>f</i> (<i>ʃ</i>)	
„ <i>fu</i>	„	„ <i>t</i>	„	„ <i>fu</i>	
„ <i>v</i>	„	„ <i>ʒ</i> (<i>s</i>)	„	„ <i>f</i>	
„ <i>mv</i>	„	„ <i>mb</i>	„	„ <i>ɱ</i>	
„ <i>muu</i>	„	„ <i>nd</i> or <i>ndʒ</i>	„	„	
„ <i>s</i>	„	„ <i>t</i>	„	„ <i>s</i>	
„ <i>s</i>	„	„ <i>ty</i>	„	„ <i>k</i>	
„ <i>s</i> or <i>kl</i>	„	„ <i>k</i>	„	„	
„ <i>s</i> or <i>xl</i>	„	„ <i>h</i>	„	„ <i>s</i> (<i>ss</i>)	
„ <i>z</i>	„	„ <i>ʒ</i> (<i>s</i>)	„	„ <i>sh</i> (<i>s</i> or <i>g</i>)	
„ <i>z</i>	„	„ <i>h</i>	„	„ <i>sh</i> (<i>x</i>)	
„ <i>z</i>	„	„ <i>y</i>	„	„ <i>κ</i>	
„ <i>z</i> (?)	„	„ <i>r</i>	„	„ <i>l</i>	
„ <i>tsh</i>	„	„ <i>pi</i>	„	„ <i>be</i>	
„ <i>ndsh</i>	„	„ <i>mbu</i>	„	„ <i>mbu</i>	
„ <i>ɱxl</i>	„	„ <i>ndy</i>	„	„ <i>nz</i>	
„ <i>ɱxle</i>	„	„ <i>ndyi</i>	„	„ <i>ndshi</i> (<i>ngi</i>)	
„ <i>l</i>	„	„ <i>r</i>	„	„ <i>l</i>	
„ <i>li</i>	„	„ <i>ri</i>	„	„ <i>ri</i>	
„ <i>y</i>	„	„ <i>y</i>	„	„	
„ <i>ny</i>	„	„ <i>ny</i>	„	„ <i>ny</i> (<i>nh</i>)	
„ <i>n</i>	„	„ <i>n</i>	„	„ <i>n</i>	
„ <i>m</i>	„	„ <i>m</i>	„	„ <i>m</i>	

385. In the North Western or Kongo Genus the following transitions of consonants have been noted:

KAFIR.	KONGO.	MPONGWE.
The <i>k</i> corresponds to	<i>k</i>	and to <i>g</i>
„ <i>nh</i> „ „	„ „	„ „ <i>k</i>
„ <i>nh</i> (Se-tshuana <i>xl</i>) <i>nz</i>	„ „	„ „ <i>d</i>
„ <i>n</i> „ „	„ „	„ „ <i>g</i>
„ <i>ng</i> „ „	„ <i>ng</i>	„ „ <i>ng</i>
„ <i>t</i> „ „	„ <i>t</i>	„ „ <i>r</i>
„ <i>nt</i> „ „	„ <i>nt</i>	„ „
„ <i>nt</i> „ „	„ <i>t</i>	„ „ <i>ty</i>
„ <i>d</i> „ „	„ „	„ „ <i>l</i>
„ <i>nd</i> „ „	„ „	„ „ <i>nd</i>
„ <i>p</i> „ „	„ „	„ „ <i>v</i>
„ <i>b</i> „ „	„ <i>n</i>	„ „ <i>v</i>
„ <i>bh</i> „ „	„ <i>w</i>	„ „ <i>f</i>
	<i>bh</i>	„ „ <i>p</i>
„ <i>mb</i> „ „	„ „	„ „ <i>mb</i>
„ <i>f</i> „ „	„ <i>f</i>	„ „ <i>w</i>
„ <i>mv</i> „ „	„ <i>nv</i>	„ „
„ <i>s</i> „ „	„ „	„ „ <i>zy</i> or <i>nty</i>
„ <i>s</i> (<i>p</i>) „ „	„ „	„ „ <i>n</i> or <i>k</i>
„ <i>s</i> „ „	„ <i>k</i>	„ „ <i>z</i>
„ <i>s</i> or <i>xl</i> (<i>hl</i>) „ „	„ <i>ss</i>	„ „
„ <i>su</i> „ „	„ <i>fu</i>	„ „
„ <i>ns</i> (<i>p</i>) „ „	„ <i>nz</i>	„ „ <i>nty</i>
„ <i>z</i> „ „	„ <i>z</i>	„ „ <i>g</i> or <i>s</i>
„ <i>z</i> „ „	„ „	„ „ <i>dsh</i> (<i>j</i>)
„ <i>nz</i> „ „	„ <i>nz</i>	„ „
„ <i>nz</i> „ „	„ „	„ „ <i>ndsh</i> (<i>ny</i>)
„ <i>sh</i> „ „	„ <i>k</i>	„ „ <i>g</i>
„ <i>xl</i> (<i>hl</i>) „ „	„ <i>t</i>	„ „ <i>t</i>
„ <i>nxl</i> (<i>nhl</i>) „ „	„ <i>t</i>	„ „ <i>ty</i>
„ <i>nxl</i> (<i>ndhl</i>) „ „	„ <i>nz</i>	„ „
„ <i>nxl</i> (<i>ndhl</i>) „ „	„ „	„ „ <i>ndsh</i> (<i>ny</i>)
„ <i>l</i> „ „	„ <i>l</i>	„ „ <i>n</i> or <i>nl</i>
„ <i>l</i> „ „	„ „	„ „ <i>ny</i>
„ <i>ml</i> „ „	„ „	„ „ <i>n</i>
„ <i>n</i> „ „	„ <i>n</i>	„ „ <i>n</i>
„ <i>m</i> „ „	„ <i>m</i>	„ „ <i>m</i>

386. In the North-Western Branch the transitions of consonants which have been observed are :

KAFIR.		BENGA.		ISUBU (Dualla.)
The <i>k</i> corresponds to				and to <i>k</i>
„ <i>t</i>	„	„ <i>l</i>	„	„ <i>l</i>
„ <i>nt</i>	„	„ <i>t</i>	„	„ <i>t</i>
„ <i>nd</i>	„	„	„	„ <i>n</i>
„ <i>p</i>	„	„	„	„ <i>w</i>
„ <i>b</i>	„	„ <i>b</i>	„	„ <i>b</i>
„ <i>mb</i>	„	„ <i>mb</i>	„	„ <i>mb</i>
„ <i>f</i>	„	„ <i>v</i>	„	„
„ <i>mvu</i>	„	„	„	„ <i>ngu</i>
„ <i>s</i>	„	„ <i>h</i>	„	„ <i>s</i>
„ <i>ns</i>	„	„	„	„ <i>s</i>
„ <i>z</i>	„	„ <i>d</i>	„	„ <i>r</i>
„ <i>nz</i>	„	„ <i>κ</i>	„	„ <i>d</i>
„ <i>ndsh</i> (<i>nj</i>)	„	„	„	„ <i>ngb</i>
„ <i>ɲʰl</i> (<i>ndhl</i>)	„	„ <i>ndsh</i> (<i>nj</i>)	„	„ <i>ɲʰsh</i> (<i>nj</i>)
„ <i>l</i>	„	„ <i>d</i>	„	„ <i>d</i>
„ <i>l</i>	„	„	„	„ <i>l</i>
„ <i>l</i>	„	„ <i>κ</i>	„	„ <i>κ</i>
„ <i>n</i>	„	„ <i>n</i>	„	„ <i>n</i>
„ <i>ny</i>	„	„ <i>n</i>	„	„ <i>n</i>
„ <i>ny</i>	„	„	„	„ <i>ny</i>
„ <i>m</i>	„	„ <i>m</i>	„	„ <i>m</i>
„ <i>m</i>	„	„	„	„ <i>mb</i>

387. It does not appear to be as yet practicable to bring these different tables of transitions of consonants into one large table, showing the correspondence of consonants throughout the South African Division of the Bâ-ntu languages. For, though some of these transitions are very general, others are only partial, i. e., restricted to certain cases of the occurrence of such consonants; and they take perhaps place only under peculiar circumstances. The same Kafir letter can, therefore, in different cases, correspond to different consonants of one and the same other language; and as the conditions

under which these variations in the transition of consonants are met with, have not been fully ascertained, or stated here,—it is impossible to assign to all these instances of mutual correspondence, their right place in a general table. Some further researches will, however, it is hoped, soon render it feasible to construct at least an outline table of the most general transitions of sound noticed throughout the different members of the Bâ-ntu family of languages.

388. It must be evident to any one who looks through these tables how futile any attempt at etymology on a larger scale must be from the narrow point of view of one particular language, even if this were the Kafir or Zulu, which languages have in general best preserved the ancient forms. But as they have not done so in every regard, and as there are many instances in which the kindred languages are more original, it follows that only on the basis of a comprehensive comparison, any sound and satisfactory etymology of the South African Bâ-ntu languages can be instituted. The limited space does not allow me to give here more than one specimen of etymological comparison, in illustration of these rules of phonology.

THE NAME OF GOD.

389. The word by which "God" is translated in Zulu by the best authorities is *Unkulunkulu* 1. It is derived by reduplication of a (nasalised) form of the 9th (N-) class from the adjective stem *-kulu* (great, large, old, *u-ku-kula* 15, to grow, &c.), and seems to mean originally "a great-great-grand father," or the first ancestor of a family or tribe, though perhaps the unnasalised form *u-kulukulu* 1. (*Se-suto mo-k'oluh'ulu*) is at present more usual in this signification. Then it was applied by metaphor to that being from whom everything was derived, who according to the Zulu tradition has created all men,

animals and other things to whom life and death is due, &c.*

390. Regarding the form *U-nkulunhulu*, it is to be remarked that like many proper names and nouns expressing relationship it seems to have been transferred from the 9th (*N-*) class, to which originally, according to its prefix (*n-*) it must have belonged, to the 1st (*Mu-* personal class) to which it is referred by the prefixed article *u*. (Bleek, *De Nominum Generibus*, &c., cap. ix, p. 45.) As the latter is derived from the prefix *Mu-*, the full form of the word may be concluded once to have been *MU-N-KULU-N-KULU*. From this, there descended then, with suppression of the first *nk*, and commutation of the second *nk* into the corresponding nasalised media *ng* (§§ 89 and 226), the Inhambane word for "God" *Mu-lungulu* 1. In this inconstancy with regard to the transition of the *nk*, the dialect of Inhambane shows its character as an intermediate link between the Tekeza dialects (which almost constantly suppress the *nk*†) and the Middle Branch languages which are generally inclined to the nasalised media. Of course, the position of the first *nk* close to the unaccentuated beginning of the word had also something to do with its disappearance.

391. The language of Inhambane is, however, the only Middle Branch dialect in which the two liquids (*l*) of this word are preserved; for, in all other languages of the Mosambique as well as of the Zangian genus, the second *l* (that immediately following the accentuated syllable, and, therefore, for contrast's sake, least intoned) has been elided. Thus we find in *Ki-hiáú*, *Ki-kámbe* and *Ki-nika*

* I have treated this subject at greater length in a paper which probably soon will be published.

† For example in Lourenço Marques *le-ulo* (Kafir *e-i-ulu*, *Se-suto* *e-á-ulu*, *Se-ǀlapi* *e-ǀxulu*, *Sena* and *Tette* *i-á-ulu*) as adjective form of the 9th (*N-*) class from the stem *-ulo* great (Kafir, Cape Delgado and *Kinika* *-ulu*, *Se-suto* *-h-ulu*, *Se-ǀlapi* *-xulu*, *Sofala* *-guru*, *Sena* and *Tette* *-uru*, *Ki-suáheli* and *Ki-pokómo* *-hu*).

Bleek, *S. Afr. Comp. Grammar*.

the form *Mulúngu** (the accent retrograding according to § 375), and with suppression of the vowel of the prefix (§ 232) in the Ki-suáheli dialect of Cape Delgado *Mluingu*.

392. From the form *Mulungu*, as general primitive type of this word in the Eastern Middle Branch languages, there are also derived, on the one hand, by transition of the *ng* (as derived from an original *nik*) into *k* or *g* (§ 382), the Makua form *Mulúgo* or *Mulúho* (Quellimane and Mosambique); and on the other hand, with commutation of the *l* into *r*, in those dialects which have no *l* (§ 163), the Sofala word *Murungu*, Tette *Murungo* or *Morungo*. The Tette form is also employed in the dialect of Sena, which has otherwise the *l*. Lastly, the Ki-suáheli dialect of Mombas, which retains an original *l* only in such cases where the Ki-nika has an *r* instead of it (§ 383), has the further contraction *Múngu*, and the Ki-pokómo *Mungo*.

393. Of course it is surprising at first to find that two apparently so different words as this *Mungo* and the Zulu *Unkulunkulu* are really identical. but we can follow the gradual mutilation of the word in this instance so closely that no doubt can remain. It deserves to be remarked that, notwithstanding its otherwise strongly contracted form, the Ki-pokómo has yet preserved one letter which the full Zulu form has already lost,—namely, the initial labial nasal.

394. Among the Western Middle Branch languages, only the oTyi-hereró has derived its name for the deity, from the same stem; but here neither a reduplication of the stem, nor a derivation from the nasalised form has taken place; and thus we have *oMukurn*,† which, however, in

* This is not to be confounded with the Kafir and Zulu word *u-ni-lungu* 1. white man, European (plur. *a-be-lungu* 2.), to which corresponds the Ki-nika noun *nu-zungu*, Ki-suáheli *m-zungu* 1. (plur. *wa-zungu*, 2.)

† It is not improbable that the Timneh (§ 5) word for God, *Kuruk* 1., is also to be compared herewith; but the laws of transitions of sounds obtaining between this West African and the South African Bâ-ntu languages must of course be first ascertained before such a comparison can be considered as in any way reliable.

almost every detail of its signification, seems exactly to correspond to the Zulu *Unkulunkulu*. The oTyi-hereró adjective stem *-kuru* (*o-n-guru* 9.) means, as the corresponding Kongo stem *-kulu*, "old," and the idea of age is also generally implied in the meaning of the identical East African adjective (§§ 389 and 390, note).

395. In other South African languages, different words are found indicating the idea of a supreme being; but in Se-tshuána at least the word for "God" has a similar reference to their ancestor-worship, as the Zulu *Unkulunkulu* (§ 389). Thus in Se-suto *Mo-limo** 3. means God, and *me-limo* 4. gods, but *molimo* 1. ancestral spirit, plur. *ba-limo* 2. The corresponding Se-ǀlapi words are: *Mo-rimo* 3., *me-rimo* 4., *morimo* 1., *barimo* 2. In Zulu the Bishop of Natal's Dictionary furnishes us the almost obsolete word *aM-zimu* "apparently a collective name for *a-ma-tongo*" (6. dream-ghosts *a-ma-ǀlozi* 6., Kafir *i-mi-shologu* 4., Se-suto *liriti* 8., i. e. shadows of the dead, oTyi-hereró *o-vi-ruru* 8. spectres), "used only in the phrase *e-z-o-m-zimu* (*izinkomo* 10.) *e-z-e-mi-lwane*, the cattle killed in honour of the ancestral spirits." The word for "spirit, soul" in Sena and Quellimane is *muzimo* 1., plur. *azimo* 2. The Maravi word for "God," *ʼnimmo*, is probably of the same origin. Except in these languages of the Mosambique genus, no traces of this word have as yet been discovered in any other Middle Branch dialects; but it occurs again in the North-western Branch in Dualla *modimo* 1. demon, Isubu *modimo* 1. ghost, spirit of a dead, plur. *badimo* 2., besides the synonymous Isubu nouns *edimo* 7., plur. *bedimo* 8.

* A derivation of *Molimo* from *Moh'elimo*, as "one who is in heaven," has been proposed by Mr. Casalis ("Les Bassoutos," p. 262); but this is the more improbable as the spiritual world, for the ancestor-worshipping nations, is beneath, as Mr. Casalis has himself remarked (p. 261). Whatever may be the origin of the words *k'elimo* (Se-ǀlapi *Xorimo*) above, and *le'elimo* 5. heaven, plur. *ma'elimo* 6. (Se-ǀlapi *lexorimo* 5. *maxorimo* 6.), their similarity with *Molimo* seems to be almost accidental.

396. In these North-western Branch languages, however, "God" is indicated by other words, as *Obasi* in *Isubu*, *Loba* in *Dualla*, and *Anyambi* in *Benga*. The latter word belongs properly to the Kongo genus, where we find in *Mpongwe Anyambia*, and in Kongo *Nzambia-npungu*, which, according to W. D. Cooley (*Inner Africa* laid open, 1852, p. 6), means "the spirit above, or on high." Also the language of Angola uses *oNzambi* 9. God, and *o-u-nzambi* 14. divinity.

397. For completeness' sake, I add here the Hottentot name for God, which is *Tsui* || *kwap* (Schmelen's *Tsoei-kwap*) or, *Tsui* || *goap* (Wallmann's *Zui* || *goab*) in the Nama and *Tshu* || *koap* in the /Kora dialect, *Thui* || *kwe* (Van der Kemp's *Thuickwe*) amongst the Eastern Hottentots, and *Ti* || *k(w)oa* (Kolb's *Tik̄uoa*, or *toūquoa*) near the Cape. The Kafir word for "God" borrowed from the Hottentot *uTilo* (*uTixo*), agrees best with the form of the Cape dialect. Whilst this word is in Zululand comparatively unknown, it occurs again in the Tekeza dialect of Lourenço Marques, in which the word *Tillo* 1. (God) betrays at once its late foreign introduction, by not observing the regular transition of consonants from Kafir to Tekeza (*t* to *r*, or *z* to *t*, § 381). The origin and true etymology of this Hottentot name of "God" is not yet established with any amount of certainty. It would perhaps be bold to assert that the word did not exist two hundred years ago, because in the texts sent by Witsen at the end of the seventeenth century to Leibnitz (§ 17), God is called *Thoró*. Or, is perhaps this last word really identical with *Theu* || *kwap* (msc. sng.), as I have heard a Hottentot woman at Robben Island name God, and with the *Theu* || *ge* or *Tui* || *ko* of two Bushmen from the same place? Kolb's *Tou* || *kwoa* (if that is not a misprint at p. 414 of the German original edition) leads us also on this trace.

Reprinted in Berlin.

103.

